CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

UGC CARE LIST No. 124
ISSN 0030 – 5324

Journal of The Oriental Institute

Vol. 69

THE MAHARAJA SAYAJIRAO UNIVERSITY OF BARODA

सत्यं शिवं सुन्दरम्

Estd. 1949

Accredited Grade 'A' by NAAC

Oriental Institute
The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda
Vadodara

Editor
Sweta Prajapati

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

UGC CARE LIST No. 124
ISSN 0030 – 5324

JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

Volume 69, Year 2020

Editor

Sweta Prajapati

THE MAHARAJA SAYAJIRAO UNIVERSITY OF BARODA
सत्यं शिवं सुन्दरम्
Estd. 1949

Accredited Grade 'A' by NAAC

Oriental Institute
The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda
Vadodara

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

(Referred and Blind 'Peer-reviewed' Annual International Indological Research Journal)

Vol. 69, 2020

© Oriental Institute, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara

Advisory Board :

Prof. Shrinivas Varkhedi, *Vice-Chancellor, Kavikulguru Kalidas Sanskrit University, Ramtek, Nagpur*

Prof. Gopabandhu Mishra, *Vice-Chancellor, Shree Somnath Sanskrit University, Veraval, Gujarat*

Prof. Sadashiv Kumar Dwivedi, *Dept. of Sanskrit, Faculty of Arts, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi*

Prof. Deven M. Patel, *Professor of Sanskrit and Indian Literature, Dept. of South Asia Studies, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (U.S.)*

Prof. N. C. Panda, *ICCR Chair Visiting Professor of Sanskrit, Sanskrit Studies Centre, Silpakorn University, Bangkok, Thailand*

Prof. Rabindra Kumar Panda, *Department of Sanskrit, Pali & Prakrit, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara*

Editorial Board :

Dr. Ramanath Pandey
Dr. Sharmila Bagchi
Dr. Vipul Patel
Dr. Nandkishor Mishra

Note : *The statements and views expressed by the authors of articles in this Journal are their own and not necessarily of the Editorial Board.*

ISSN	:	0030-5324
UGC CARE LIST NUMBER	:	Arts & Humanities No. 124
Registration No.	:	15007/57
Published by	:	Oriental Institute The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda Vadodara - 390 001
Price	:	₹ 150/- Annual subscription (For India) $ 50 Annual subscription (For Foreign Countries)
Address	:	The Director, Oriental Institute The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda Near Palace Gate, Palace Road Vadodara - 390 001, Gujarat, India
Telephone	:	(+91-265) 2425121
E-mail	:	director-oriental@msubaroda.ac.in
Website	:	www.msubaroda.ac.in

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

CONTENTS

1. **A Pāśupata Ascetic in Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*?**
- Christian Ferstl 1-23

2. **Scientific and Medicinal Evaluation of *Aśvagandhā* (Withania Somnifera (Linn.) Dunal)**
- Dhananjay Vasudeo Dwivedi 25-47

3. **Fetotomy in Ancient Indian Texts** - K. G. Sheshadri 49-64

4. **Parasol, Flywhisk & Flywhisk Bearers in Buddhist Art** - Neeraj Kumar Mishra 65-80

5. **Vedic Remedies to Eradicate *Ādhidaivika* Sorrows**
- Kalindi Shukla 81-94

6. **Sanskrit Jurists on Proprietary Rights of Women (with Special Reference to *Mitākṣarā* Commentary on *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*)** - Kapil Gautam 95-116

7. ***Nānukāra Iti Bhramitavyam* –Abhinavagupta on the Nature of *Nāṭya*** - Mayank Shekhar 117-136

8. **Leadership Principles Envisaged through Somadeva's *Nītivākyāmṛtam*** - Harshada Sawarkar 137-148

9. **A Review of India-Thailand Trading Interface in Early Era: As Reported from the Excavations in Thailand**
- Bhaswati Mukhopadhyay 149-174

10. **Poetry in the Sanskrit Inscriptions of Thailand**
- Satyavrat Varma 175-194

11. **Sanskrit and Symbolism of India from the Perspective of Identity Design** - Nimesh Shah 195-207

Book-Reviews 209-210

Activities of Oriental Institute (2019-20) 211-216

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

A *PĀŚUPATA* ASCETIC IN AŚVAGHOṢA'S *BUDDHACARITA*?

Christian Ferstl*

Abstract: In the seventh chapter of Aśvaghoṣa's epic *Buddhacarita*, a certain brahmin ascetic recommends to the Bodhisattva Sarvārthasiddha to go and meet the sage Arāḍa (verses 51-55). The description of the anonymous ascetic who is said to be "lying in ashes" (*bhasmaśāyin*) is well-intentioned throughout and shows no signs of sectarian polemics.[1] In the present paper I discuss Aśvaghoṣa's approach to the ascetic and aspects of the literary representation. Moreover, the possibility of an identification of the *bhasmaśāyin* as an adherent of Pāśupata Śaivism is considered.

Key Words: *Buddhacarita, Pāśupata* Śaivism, asceticism, ashes, plot structure

Introduction

In a survey of references to early *Śaiva* traditions I came across Aśvaghoṣa's epic biography of the Buddha Gautama, the *Buddhacarita* (BC).[2] Minoru Hara's deserving but unpublished PhD thesis, finished in 1966, referes to it. In a note it contains a useful collection of passages from Sanskrit works of various literary genres that are supposed to contain "references to *Pāśupata* doctrine and ascetics".[3] Amongst these passages Hara mentions one stanza of the *Buddhacarita* and briefly states that it offers "a description of an ash-besmeared brahmin".[4]

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO. 124, Vol. 69, 2020, pp. 1-23.

* Department of South Asian, Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, University of Vienna, Spitalgasses 2, Courtyard 2, Entrance 2.7, 1090 Vienna, Austria, Ph: +43-1-4277-43501; E-mail: Christian.ferstl@univie.ac.at

1. Johnston 1936, Vol. II, lv.
2. References are to Johnston's edition (1936, repr. 2004).
3. Hara 1966: 6f.
4. Hara 1966: 19f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Possibly this stanza from the *Buddhacarita* is the earliest reference to the *Pāśupata* tradition in works of Sanskrit poetry (*kāvya*). *Possibly* I say because the problem here is not the date of composition, but the exact interpretation of the passage.

Evidence for early forms of Śaivism is scanty. The earliest attested reference to established forms of Śaivism is found in Patañjali's grammatical work *Mahābhāṣya* (2nd century BC).[5] From the last century BC to the first centuries AD there is but a very small number of coins and inscriptions referring to the Śaiva religion.[6] Only from the 4th century onwards literary and more epigraphical evidence is preserved.

It need not be mentioned that the scarcity of historical sources also applies to the origin of *Pāśupata*, the earliest of the sectarian *Śaiva* groups, now extinct. This pre-tantric (a term coined by André Padoux[7]), i.e. not yet fully developed, tantric tradition was an ascetic movement that demanded initiation and was reserved for male brahmins whose goal was salvation. It was part of the so called *Atimārga*, the "path beyond" (as opposed to the *Mantramārga* which was appropriate for the power-seeking ascetic as well as the *gṛhastha*, the householder living with his family).[8] What we know about the origins of *Pāśupata* Śaivism is hardly more than a legend about its founder Lakulīśa or Lakuleśa. Although the legend was apparently made up by adherents of the *Lākula* branch, a more radical branch of the *Atimārga*,[9] it probably bears some truth, and Lākulīśa who was later deified may have lived in the 1st or 2nd century in northern India.[10]

---

5. *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇ. 5.2.76, 5.3.99, and 6.3.26.
6. Sanderson, lecture in Hamburg, 7.6.2013 (exact references are given on the first two pages of the handout accompanying the lecture, uploaded on http://www.alexissanderson.com/publications.html where a video recording of the lecture can also be accessed).
7. Padoux 2003, p. 483, also Hatley 2007, p. 6.
8. Sanderson 1988: 664f.
9. For the historical position of the *Pañcārtha* and *Lākula* branches of *Pāśupata* within other forms of Śaivism, see Sanderson 2006, esp. 145-148.
10. For the dating of the origin of *Pāśupata* Śaivism, see Sanderson 1988: 664, and 2006: 148; for the legend of Lākulīśa, see Acharya 2011: 461f. and Bakker 2014: 145-153.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Aśvaghoṣa himself lived not much later. He was born as a brahmin in Ayodhyā (also called Sāketa, in the North Indian region of Kośala).[11] His *Buddhacarita* – together with his second epic *Saundarānanda* (SN) – is dated to the first[12] or second century AD.[13] In either case it is the "earliest available intact example of *kāvya* epic in its fully developed form", as the late Anthony Warder put it.[14] In any case it precedes the "high time" of the *Pāśupata* traditions, which was the period from the 4th to the 8th century.[15] In other words: if Aśvaghoṣa were to mention a *Pāśupata* ascetic in one of his works, this might be an important piece of information concerning the origins of early *Śaiva* traditions.

The context

As I have indicated, the interpretation of the *Buddhacarita* passage characterizing the *Śaiva* brahmin ascetic is problematic in some respects. First of all, the depiction of the ascetic is not very detailed. The core of it is concentrated in a single *upajāti* stanza. The context is telling, though. For this reason the context of the passage in question shall be summarized.

---

11. Warder 1974: 144, following Johnston 1936, Vol. 2, Introduction p. xvii f.
12. Johnston 1936 (2004), Part II, p. xvii: between 50 and 100 AD, in any case before Kaniṣka who was crowned in 127 CE (ibid. p. xv und xxxv); Warder 1974: 142 (§ 705): 1st c. AD. Hiltebeitel 2006: 233-235 summarizes the arguments brought forth up to his time and concludes (p. 235): "although there are those who lean toward a second-century dating, there is a good weight of varied scholarly considerations favoring the first century. " Recently Bronkhorst (2014: 309) argued in favour of the first century, relying on arguments collected in his book *Grater Magadha* (2011).
13. E.g., Lamotte 1958: 726, on the basis of chinese documents which present Aśvaghoṣa as a contamporary with Kaniṣka. Furthermore, Aśvaghoṣa appears to have been familiar with the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* (see also Olivelle 2009: xviii-xx). See, however, Eltschinger 2013b: 96f. on the legendary character of the account of Kaniṣka meeting Aśvaghoṣa.
14. Warder 1974: 144f., contrasting the works of Aśvaghoṣa to the comparatively "simple style of the *Rāmāyaṇa*"; similarly Hahn 2010: 130.
15. Diwakar Acharya, in his *Brill Encyclopedia* article on the *Pāśupata* (2011): earliest inscriptions from the 4th century AD (p. 458); "On the basis of inscriptional records, we can say that the period from the 4th to the 8th century was the high time of Pāśupatas" (p. 464). Lorenzen 1972: 183: "... the center of gravity for both sculpture and epigraphy shifts to the South by about the end of the tenth century."

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

On his flight from the city of Kapilavastu, the Bodhisattva on his horse Kanthaka and in company of his groom Chanda arrives at a forest hermitage (*āśrama*) named after the sage Bhārgava[16] (6.1). Bhārgava only plays an active role in the ninth Canto, when envoys of the "King"[17] Śuddhodana (his *mantrin* and his *purohita*) come to see him in order to ask for the prince's whereabouts (9.2-7).

At the beginning of the seventh Canto, the Bodhisattva enters the *āśrama* (v. 1) and comes across different kinds of ascetics, who are all astonished by his appearance (2-8) and invite him at last (9f.). Unfamiliar with their practices, he turns to an anonymous brahmin ascetic (*tapasvinaṃ kaścid*, 11-13) for explanations. The brahmin explains to him various food restrictions (14), eight different ways of life in a penance grove (15-17), the purpose of it all, i.e. rebirth either on earth or in heaven, and the fundamental principle owing to which suffering (*duḥkha*) is supposed to bring about pleasure (*sukha*) (18). The Bodhisattva, however, doesn't choose any of these penances as they don't lead to the end of birth and death (19-25) and refutes the brahmin's views by means of a series of counter arguments (26-31).[18] In the evening he stays in the *āśrama* where the customary brahminical ritual duties are maintained (*agnihotra*, *japa* etc.) (32f.). After a couple of days and some experience of penance the Bodhisattva decides to leave the group of ascetics (34). They follow him, however (35f.), and the chief among them (*tapasvimukhya*, 7.44) tries to keep him from going; but if

16. It is not clear who Bhārgava (a descendant of Bhṛgu) here and in 9.2f. is. A certain seer named "son of Bhṛgu" is mentioned in BC 28.30 (a panegyric stanza), but this does not help identify Bhārgava. The name may resonate the unorthodox behavior of the Bhārgava priests as they are represented in the *Mahābhārata* (see Goldman 1977, Maurer 1979: 342). While they appear deviant from a brahmanical point of view, they are not disdained by Aśvaghoṣa. In SN 16.91 one Bhṛgu appears in a list of eminent disciples of the Buddha.

17. Śuddhodana, who is called a *rājā* throughout the BC (v. 1.1 etc.) was probably not a king of a brahminical monarchy, but rather a member of what can be called an oligarchy or a republic, and who maintained his status on the basis of seniority. See Gombrich 1988: 49f.

18. He speaks "to himself" (*ātmagatam*, v. 20), that is, unheard by the surrounding hermits.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

he *does* go, he is recommended to go north to the Himālaya, in any case not to the south (37-43) which is considered inauspicious (41). The Bodhisattva answers very politely (44-47) but declines the recommendation (48f.),[19] and the ascetics express their deep respect for his ambitions (50).

At this point a certain "brahmin lying in ashes" (*bhasmaśāyin*) (51) praises the Bodhisattva and approves of his views regarding *apavarga*, the end of birth and death (52f.). He recommends to him to go south to the Vindhya mountains and meet Arāḍa Kālāma[20] there. Moreover, he can tell by the Bodhisattva's countenance that one day he will surpass Arāḍa's teaching and predicts deepest insight to him (55-57). Finally the Bodhisattva takes his leave of the ascetics who on their part return to the grove.

The "brahmin lying in ashes" plays a small but, as I argue, significant part. For the first time in his life (that is to say, for the first time in his last incarnation) the Bodhisattva is introduced to the life of forest dwelling ascetics. This is a decisive point in the biography. It is enhanced by a further dramatic effect: In the Canto next to this *āśrama* episode Aśvaghoṣa narrates the groom's and the horse's return to the city of Kapilavastu that is miserable now without the prince (8.5-50), and he describes Queen Yaśodharā's lament (51-70) and the lament of King Śuddhodana (71-81) at great length. With Chanda's return to Kapilavastu (northwards) and the Bodhisattva's continued departure, this time from Bhārgava's towards Arāḍa's hermitage farther down south in the Vindhya mountains, their separation is perfect. By heading in the opposite direction in more than one sense of the word the Bodhisattva cuts off the very last ties to his worldly life. It is the task of the *bhasmaśāyin* to carry away the Bodhisattva once and for all from the worldly life. And in accordance with his role, it is not him who talks to the king's envoys, the *mantrin* and the *purohita*, who ask about the whereabouts of the prince. This is the

19. He opposes *pravṛtti* (manifestation, exertion, activity) and *svarga* with. *nivṛtti* (cessation) and *apunarbhāva*.

20. Arāḍa teaches a "(proto-)*Sāṅkhya* version of the *ātman* in Canto 12" (Eltschinger 2013a: 167).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

task of brahmin priest (*vipra*) Bhārgava (9.2-6), apparently the authority of the ascetic grove that carries his name (6.1).[21]

The caesura after Canto 7 is part of a well-planned symmetry of construction. It is true that plot structure or narrative patterns are rarely addressed in Sanskrit treatises on poetics. Nevertheless they can be discerned in Sanskrit literary works and often they can be judged to be intentional. The mirror-like structure of the seven acts in Kālidāsa's play *Abhijñānaśākuntala* is just one famous example.[22] The 28 Cantos of the *Buddhacarita* are also clearly structured. They are divided into four major parts, each consisting of seven Cantos.[23] (This might correspond to the 28 days of the lunar month that are divided into the four phases of the moon). The *bhasmaśāyin* at the very end of the first quarter of the epic launches the Bodhisattva's quest for liberation, which is then narrated in the second quarter (with the Awakening under the Bodhi tree in Canto 14[24]). The third part, Cantos 15 to 21, deals with the teaching of the Awakened One and the fourth part finally with his *mahāparinirvāṇa*. So, corresponding to the overall structure of the *Buddhacarita*, we virtually have the Buddha's conception at the first phase of the waxing moon, his entrance into the life of an ascetic at *saptamī*, the seventh day

---

21. In BC 6.1, the Bodhisattva "saw Bhārgava's hermitage and its surroundings" (भार्गवस्याश्रमपदं स ददर्श). After exchanging clothes with the hunter and bidding farewell to Chandaka he entered the hermitage (7.1) and "was duly reverenced and invited by the hermits" (7.9ab: सतैराश्रमिभिर्यथावदभ्यर्चितश्चोपनिमन्त्रितश्च). Compare SBhV p. 391,27f., where it is told that the Bodhisattva is "invited to the hermitage by Bhārgava" (भार्गवेणाश्रमेणोपनिमन्त्रितः). The very same expression is used in the next sentence (p. 392,1): बिम्बिसारेणार्धराज्येनोपनिमन्त्रितः, "he was offered half the empire by king Bimbisāra". The use of the expression *upanimantrita* ("invited" / "offered") sort of equals the authority of Bimbisāra and Bhārgava over their respective realms.

22. Shulman 2014: 64.

23. This structure was noted by Warder 1974: 714 (see also p. 764), Sharma 2003: 77.

24. This episode is introduced in 12.115: *so Aśvatthamūlaṃ prayayau* ("he repaired to the foot of a bo-tree", tr. Olivelle).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

of the lunar month, his awakening at full moon (the 14th day of a lunar fortnight, *caturdaśī*), his death at new moon and so on.[25]

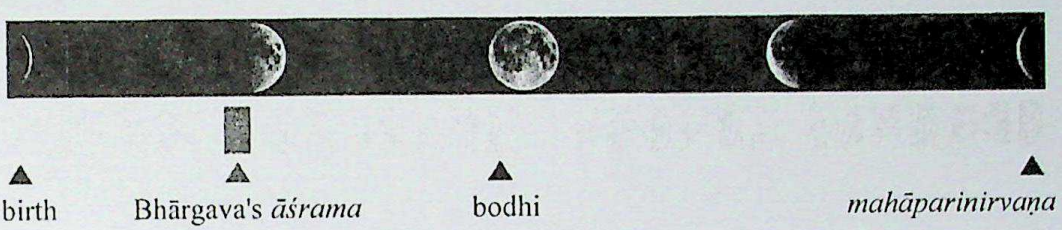


Figure 1: Overall structure of the 28 Cantos (squares) in correlation to the phases of the moon.

The portrayal

Now, who is the anonymous ascetic "lying in ashes"? In stanza 7.51 from the *Buddhacarita* he is portrayed before he starts to speak to the Bodhisattva for the next couple of stanzas. It is worth noting, that the *bhasmaśāyin* is the only ascetic from Bhārgava's grove, who is portrayed when the author introduces him. It is well known from numerous works of poetry that a character's importance within the plot is mirrored by the length and detail of his description. As for the *bhasmaśāyin*, Aśvaghoṣa devotes four *pāda*s of an *upajāti* stanza to his description.

---

25. In the epilogue to his remarkable Hungarian translation of Cantos 1-14 of the BC, József Vekerdi (1999: 131f.), questions Aśvaghoṣa's authorship of the remaining Cantos 15-28. The possibility of the BC's second half being added by another author is, however, rejected by the majority of modern philologists. I am not aware of many works that are composed in 28 chapters. One is Varāhamihira's *Bṛhajjātaka* (here again, the number of chapters seems to mirror the number of the moon phases), another is the *Tantrasadbhāva*, preserved in Nepalese Mss. and quoted in *Tantrāloka* and *Śivasūtravimarśinī* (the text is however compiled and shows several layers). Hence an organization into 28 chapters is by no means standard to literary composition, as opposed to an organization into, e.g., 18 chapters, which is well known from the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bhagavadgītā*, Aśvaghoṣa's own *Saundarānanda*, Bhāravi's *Kīrātārjunīya*, Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, Āryabhaṭṭa's *Mahāsiddhānta*, Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, Dhanañjaya's *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya*, etc.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

कश्चिद् द्विजस्तत्र तु भस्मशायी
प्रांशुः शिखीदारवचीरवासाः ।
आपिङ्गलाक्षस्तनुदीर्घघोणः
कुण्डैकहस्तोगिरमित्युवाच ॥ 7.51॥

"But a certain twice-born there, who was in the habit of lying in ashes, tall and with his hair in a tuft, clothed in tree-bark, with reddish eyes and a long nose, and carrying a waterpot in one hand, spoke to him thus: –"[26]

Besides physiognomic and physical traits (long thin nose,[27] tall) and rather common attributes of an ascetic (tuft, bark clothes,[28] water pot,[29] and eyes reddened[30]), the depiction contains two interesting features: We are informed that the ascetic is a brahmin[31] (a so-called "twice born" *dvija*). And especially

---

26. Text and translation according to Johnston 1936.

27. An ideal nose marks kings and other novel persons (Zysk 2008: 434f.), but it is not a "sign of a great person" (*mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa*) in buddist terminology. Compare BC 7.56, where the Bodhisattva is described having a "distinct and high nose" (*spaṣṭoccaghoṇa*). High or well-defined noses are frequently mentioned features of male as well as female beauty. E.g., the young and beautiful ascetic Puṇḍarīka in Bāṇas *Kādambarī* is said to have a "long and lofty nasal bone" (*āyatottuṅgaghrāṇavaṃśa*, Kād. p. 139,18) and in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* Sītā's beauty is enhanced by her "high nose" (*unnasa*, Rām. 5.11.68).

28. The term *cīravāsa* is also used in the *Guhyasūtra* of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* (v. 3.33, ed. in Sanderson 2006: 209).

29. Probably a water jar, though *kuṇḍīkā* (a small water jar) could also denote an "an alms bowl fashioned from a human cranium" according to *Niśvāsamukha* 4.88 (cf. Sanderson 1988: 133f). The PABh prescribes the use of a "container for carrying the ashes" (*bhasmādhāra*, PABh p. 17,9).

30. In case the *bhasmaśāyin* indeed represents an adherent of the *Pāśupata*, his eyes are perhaps not reddened by the smoke of the *homa* sacrifices, since *Pāśupata* was a fireless tradition (see Sanderson 2006: 192f.). Usually, however, reddened or watering eyes are, as a poetical convention, described for duly sacrificing brahmins (e.g., Kād. p. 6,17).

31. Given he was a *Pāśupata,* his sacred thread (*sūtra*) would reveal his *varṇa* as that of a brahmin; cf. PS 1.6 which prescribes for the adherents to be "wearing the sign" (*liṅgadhārī*).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

interesting is the expression *bhasmaśāyin* – "lying in ashes", or more properly "used to lying in ashes", i.e. habitually (*tacchīlye* according to Pāṇ. 3.2.78), as a religious vow (*vrate*, Pāṇ. 3.2.80), or in frequent repetition (*bahulam ābhīkṣṇye*, Pāṇ. 3.2.81), according to Pāṇini's explanations of the *-in*-suffix.[32]

Now the question is: Was the expression *bhasmaśāyin* supposed to recall the practice prescribed in *Pāśupatasūtra* (PS) 1.3: *bhasmani śayīta* "in ashes he shall sleep"? Obviously it refers to a certain *Śaiva* practice. Almost 80 years ago, Edward Hamilton Johnston, who is still regarded as one of the most distinguished scholars of the works and style of Aśvaghoṣa, was convinced that the expression "*bhasmaśāyin* shows that he was a *Śaiva* ascetic".[33] But is it unambiguous enough to assume that Aśvaghoṣa knew and conveyed *Pāśupata* cults? Let's bear in mind that Aśvaghoṣa's choice of words is generally and remarkably intentional. As Johnston puts it (in the introduction to his translation of what has come down to us of the *Buddhacarita* in Sanskrit): "every single word almost in his poems is pregnant and should be given its full value in translation"[34] and, we have to add, in interpretation.

Lying in ashes

The cult of lying in ashes (*bhasmaśāya*, *-śayana* etc.) is attested in the foundational works of the *Pāśupata* traditions, the *Pāśupatasūtra*s (PS) and Kauṇḍinya's commentary thereon, the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* (PABh), furthermore in Haradatta's *Gaṇakārikā* (GK) and its commentary *Ratnaṭīkā* (RṬ) by Bhāsarvajña, and in a couple of *Śaiva* works referring to the *Pāśupatasūtra*s. It can be considered not just one among other rites, but "the hallmark of the *Pāśupata* movement".[35]

---

32. For agent nouns ending in *-in-* see Pāṇ. 3.2.141-145 and 156f. The present case, i.e., a compound agent noun with nominal first stem is treated in Pāṇ. 3.2.51, 78-82 and 85f. and thoroughly substantiated with examples in Debrunner 1954, § 217c.
33. Johnston 1936, Part II p. 101 (note on the translation).
34. Johnston II p. xciv.
35. Bakker 2014: 174.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

An explanation of the rite is found in the *Ratnaṭīkā*[36]: The spreading/scattering of the ashes should be done near a temple (*āyatana*)[37] and should be accompanied by the recitation of mantras taken from the *Atharvaśiras Upaniṣad*[38] or the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (ch. 10).[39] The *mantras* shall be recited until sleep comes. The purpose of the ashes is to purify the spot and the body (according to Bhāsarvajña)[40] and to meditate on *saṃsāra*, i.e. transitoriness and death (according to Kauṇḍinya).

"Lying in ashes" was prescribed to the adherents of the *Pañcārtha, Lākula* and *Vaimala* traditions[41] and it appears to be quite peculiar to these and the *Atimārga* in general. This can be seen from Kṣemarāja's commentary on the *Svacchandatantra* (on v. 11.74ab).[42] To exemplify the ash rites of which PS 1.2-4 prescribe three different kinds, Kṣemarāja quotes only PS 1.3: भस्मनि शयीतेत्यादिपाशुपतशास्त्रचोदना, "such injunctions of the *Pāśupata* scripture as 'He should lie on ashes'" (tr. Sanderson). The other two ash rites from the PS are: भस्मनात्रिषवणं स्नायीत (1.2),[43] "with ashes he should perform his triple bath", and *anusnānam* (1.4), "re-bathing", i.e., intermediate bathing or chalking with ashes in order to avoid impurity and to maintain a *Pāśupata*-like appearance according to

---

36. RṬ p. 19,10-16, commenting on *caryā*, one of the five "means" (*upāya*) (tr. Hara 1966: 551f.; German translation in Oberhammer 1984: 176).

37. See also PABh p. 12,10-14.

38. Hara 1966: 95 and 99f.

39. Hara 1966: 121. The five *brahman* at the end of each *adhyāya* of the PS are each introduced by the phrase *atredaṃ brahma japet* (PS 1.39, 2.21, 3.20, 4.21, and 5.41); some of them can be traced back to older sources from the Black *Yajurveda* (see Hara 1966: 121).

40. Ritual purification of the hands with ashes is prescribed in RT p. 4.22-24 : before the intimate sets out for begging for alms (*annārjana*), he is said to scour his hands with ashes, take his bowl (भस्मनाहस्तौप्रक्षाल्यपात्रं गृहीत्वा) etc. (English translation of German version).

41. Evidence of this practice in the Indian *Vaimala* and possibly also in the Javanese Alepaka traditions is discussed in Nihom 1996.

42. Quoted, tr. and discussed in Sanderson 2006: 177f. See also Nihom 1996: 195.

43. Note the use of the technical term *triṣavaṇa*, a *dvigu* compound adopted from legal literature (see *Manusmṛti* 6.22 and 24, 11.123 and 216, *Parāśarasmṛti* 12.58 and 73 etc.).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Kauṇḍinya.[44] A variant of the ash rite is mentioned in another early *Śaiva* text, the *Mataṅgapārameśvara*.[45] Verses 9.5-8 of the *Caryāpāda* section of this work[46] prescribe sitting on a layer of ashes on the ground (using the expressions *bhasmaniṣṭha* and *niviśet*). In short, the unorthodox rite of repeatedly chalking the whole body with ashes must have given a striking appearance to the brahmin ascetics, and a common way of referring to it was to call it "lying" in ashes.

The expression was also adopted by Aśvaghoṣa. If his *bhasmaśāyin* represents an adherent of the *Pañcārtha Pāśupata* (or at least a *Saiva* brahmin who adopted *Pañcārtha* rites) and if we accept the earlier dating of Aśvaghoṣa (1st c. AD), the composition of the BC would predate the assumed foundation of the *Pāśupata* movement. This would imply that we have to prefer the 2nd century for the composition of the Buddhist work; or predate the composition of the *Śaiva* work; or consider the *bhasmaśāyin* as a kind of proto-*Pāśupata*. That is, bathing or lying in ashes was already practiced by certain groups of brahmins, but not yet adopted and laid down as a rule by the founder(s) of the *Pāśupata* movement.

If we are not mistaken by the term *bhasmaśāyin*, the BC would be one of the earliest scriptural evidence of *Pāśupata* cults. It is predated only by references to the "cow's vow" (*govrata*)[47] which was observed by brahmins according to the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*[48] and a later-added section of the *Mahābhārata* (5.97.12-14).[49] An ascetic way of living of those who aimed at "behaving like deer" is also mentioned in the same canto of the BC (v. 5: *mṛgacāriṇaḥ*, and v. 15: *mṛgavac caranti*) among other forms of self-chastisement which are based on the imitation of animals like birds and snakes.

---

44. Repeated ritual purification by means of ashes is also prescribed according to Bhāsarvajña's RT (see note 40) (English translation of German version).
45. See Sanderson 2014: 11.
46. The passage is ed. and tr. in Sanderson 2006: 202-205.
47. Cf. PS 5.15-18.
48. Ingalls 1962: 295.
49. See Acharya 2011: 458.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

In any case the BC passage does not deal with the more transgressive branches of traditions like the *Lākula* movement.[50] The adherents of the *Lākula* and *Vaimala* traditions carried staffs with a skull on top, so called *khaṭvāṅgas*[51] and they used skull bowls and garlands made of human bones (*kapāla*)[52] which gave them a very characteristic appearance, as can be inferred from a large number of *Śaiva* as well as non-*Śaiva* works. Both of these ritual items were known to Aśvaghoṣa, too, for he mentions a "woman with a skull in her hands" (*strī ... kapālahastā*) in the description of Māra's army (BC 13.49) and a *khaṭvāṅga* staff (besides the besmearing of oneself with ashes) in another stanza from the same Canto (BC 13.21). More elements of *Śaiva* asceticism, such as matted hair and snake necklaces, are suggested in the description of the army.[53] The use of ashes turned into a more transgressive rite in the *Lākula* tradition. While ashes used in the *Pañcārtha* tradition were made from cow dung, they were made from cremated corpses in the *Lākula* tradition. The *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* (NTS) which contains, i.a., a versified version of the *Pāśupatasūtras*[54] and which, according to its critical editor and translator Dominic Goodall, is not only the earliest surviving *Śaiva tantra*, but also the principal source for *Lākula* evidence,[55] prescribes that the initiand should "mount the bed of ash in the area of worship and sleep [there]."[56]

---

50. See Bakker 2015: 145-153.
51. Bakker 2014: 152. A stone image of a figure with a *khaṭvāṅga* is reproduced ibid. p. 230 (plate 48).
52. Sanderson 1988: 665f., referring to the fourth chapter of the *Nayasūtra* of the NTS (not edited in Goodall 2015), and Nihom 1996: 195f., referring to the *Guhyasūtra*, which was added to the *Niśvāsatattva* corpus about a century later.
53. See Tubb 2014: 79f. On a possible literary source for this see Johnston 1936, Vol. II, p. xl.
54. Sanderson 2006: 158.
55. Sanderson 2006: 152. Goodall (2015: 19-73) argues for the 6th to 7th centuries AD as the period of composition of the NTS. In terms of Indian history of ideas, "the *Niśvāsa* may be linked both to pre-tantric Śaiva soteriology and to ... tantric magic ... (and) tantric literature" (ibid. p. 17), its later parts belonging to the Mantramārga (Bakker 2014: 9, n. 36).
56. NTS, *mūlasūtra* 3.14.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

No mention of lying or sleeping (*śayana* etc.) in ashes is made in many other of the oldest surviving *Śaiva* works like the *Brahmayāmalatantra* (BYT)[57], the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottarapurāṇa*[58], although they do contain Pāśupata elements. One of these elements is, for instance, the *bathing* in ashes (*bhasmasnāna*, which rather means to rub the body down with ash for hygienic as well as purificatory purposes). The "bathing in ashes" (PS 1.2) is generally much more often referred to. It appears to be a more general allusion to the *Śaiva* ash rites. Therefore I consider it significant that Aśvaghoṣa chose to mention the more peculiar rite of "sleeping in ashes", which is prescribed in the foundational scriptures of the *Pañcārtha Pāśupatas*.

Models from Buddhist literature

In case Aśvaghoṣa did not witness *Pāśupata* practices himself, did he perhaps find the ritual use of ashes in sources of Buddhist literature? To find an answer to that question I examined a wide range of early Buddhist literature, especially biographical passages where Bhārgava's hermitage and the *bhasmaśāyin* are likely to be mentioned. Such passages are contained in the following works composed in Sanskrit or Hybrid Sanskrit:

Divyāvadāna (DA)
Lalitavistara (LV)
Mahāvastu (MV)
Saṅghabhedavastu (SBhV)
and *Saundarananda* (SN) by Aśvaghoṣa himself;

and in a couple of works transmitted in *Pāli:*

Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā (BVA)
Jātakanidānakathā (JNK)
Pabbajjāsuttavaṇṇanā (PaSV)

---

57. The BYT is perhaps the oldest known *Bhairavatantra,* originating from the 7th century AD according to Hatley 2007: 211-228 and Kiss 2015: 13.

58. Both works (probably 5./6. c. AD) contain *Pāśupata* elements but are rather works from the *Kālamukha* tradition (Magnone 2005: 591-595).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

One further source are the cave paintings of Ajanta (cave 16) which, according to Dieter Schlingloff,[59] contain the only known representation of the episode of the Bodhisattva's meeting with Bhārgava (and another ascetic who remains unidentified). Unfortunately this scene was never reproduced[60] except for a drawing published by Dieter Schlingloff and his team (see the figure below). If we accept Schlingloff's interpretation, the figure on the elevated seat represents the Bodhisattva, the sage Bhārgava sitting by his side. The drawing, however, does not help identify the third figure, for a coloured reproduction could possibly indicate the use ashes.

Figure 2: detail of the paintings of the Ajanta cave 16.

The following works are not available for this episode or do not contain it at all: *Bimbisārasūtra* (BS), *Mahāvadānasūtra* (MAS), *Saṅgītisūtra* (SS) and its commentary *Saṅgītiparyāya* (SP), *Buddhavaṃsa* (BV) and *Pabbajjasutta* (PaS = Suttanipāta 3.1).

In a comparative study of these sources I came to the conclusion that, when we discern core elements of the narrative from the various and variable additions to it, these additions can be best organized into three groups. The core elements of the

59. Schlingloff 1983: 142, Szene 25: "Der weltflüchtige Bodhisattva bei dem Ṛṣi Bhārgava."

60. The extensive work of Walter Spink (2005-2014) does not even mention it.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Buddha's biography are, for example, the groom Chandaka helping the Bodhisattva flee the palace; the horse; the change of clothes with the hunter; the meetings with Ālāra Kālāma und Udraka Rāmaputra; the first five disciples of the Bodhisattva and so on – all the well-known elements we meet with in any of the old versions of the biography. The three kinds of additions to these core elements are the following:

The first group is made up of utterly individual details that are found merely in single works. In LV (p. 248,13-250,2), e.g., we find numerous forms of asceticism some of which are mentioned only there. The two anonymous brahmin ascetics in BC 7 as well as the *bhasmaśāyin* are also unique in this sense. Such details are often exceptionally interesting, since they cannot be ascribed to any literary tradition or other conventions. They are unique expressions of the individual author or they display local or temporal characteristics.

A second group of variable additions to the core narrative consists of elements that are attested in certain literary or religious traditions. Details that have to be considered in this sense are geographical names like that of the river Anomā, which – in the context of the Buddha's biography – we only find in two Pāli commentaries (JNK p. 64,10-12 and PaSV); or the name of the mango grove Anupiya (also attested only in two Pāli commentaries: JNK p. 65,29f. and BVA). An example taken from Buddhist Sanskrit literature is the brahmin Bhārgava. By mentioning Bhārgava, Aśvaghoṣa picks up a tradition that is unknown to the Pāli sources. Apart from the BC (and possibly the Ajanta cave painting), only works attributed to the *Mūlasārvāstivāda* line of ordination know of this Muni (SBhV p. 93,15f. and DA p. 391,27f.), which might be further evidence for determining Aśvaghoṣa's own line of ordination, by the way.

Into a third group of narrative variants I would suggest to subsume those elements that constitute a kind of mixture of the two groups just mentioned. These are details (like, for example, personal or geographical names) which occur only in single works but which can be identified as adaptations or variations of comparable details in other works. While the name changes, the purpose or function of the detail in the course of the narrative is maintained. Examples are the meeting of the Bodhisattva with Vaśiṣṭha in MV (II p. 195,12-197, last line) and with four ascetics named Raivata Brahmarṣi, Rājaka Dhātṛmadaṇḍaka, Śākī

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

and Padmā in LV (p. 238,1-11). Vaśiṣṭha (whose name is better known from Purāṇic mythology) and the four ascetics (whose names are otherwise unknown) could easily be replaced by Bhārgava and the ascetics in his hermitage respectively. A similar case taken from the Pāli biographies is the exact measure of distances in the Bodhisattva's journeys. The commentaries (PSV, BVA, JNK) usually agree on the exact number of *yojana*s in such cases. But as soon as these data reappear in works of other Buddhist traditions, they happen to disagree. One example: according to the JNK (p. 64,10-12), the Bodhisattva walks 30 *yojana*s from his father's palace to the spot where he dismisses his groom and his horse (this number has perhaps been brought into line with the distance of the Bodhisattva's succeeding walk from there to Rājagṛha, which is also 30 *yojana*s, in JNK p. 65,29-66,2); but according to the SBhV (p. 93,31f.) the distance was 12 *yojana*s.

In short, the legend of Bhārgava, who was perhaps the preceptor of the *āśrama* where the Bodhisattva for the first time met with various ascetics, is traceable only in a certain literary tradition represented by the Mūlasārvāstivāda works SBhV and DA. And in Aśvaghoṣa's oeuvre. A comparable figure was known by the name Vaśiṣṭha to the author(s) of the MV (a *lokottaravāda* / Māhāsāṃghika work). The *bhasmaśāyin* who recommends the sage Alāra Kālāma's teachings is a unique feature of Aśvaghoṣa's version of the Buddha's biography. This might indicate the author's acquaintance with the *Śaiva* practice of sleeping in a bed of ash, not from literary sources, but from a more or less personal encounter with a custom of his time, possibly with (proto) *Pañcārtha* Pāsupatism, a tradition that has emerged not long before his time.

Conclusion

The question whether Aśvaghoṣa intended to introduce a *Pāśupata* brahmin or not cannot be answered with absolute certainty. One single expression in one single stanza and a couple of vague allusions do not provide a decisive prove in this matter. But even if it was possible to identify a *Pāśupata* in the BC: What would be gained by it? Our understanding of the history of *Pāśupata* Śaivism would not deepen significantly. What we learn from the *bhasmaśāyin,* supposing he *was* a *Pañcārthika,* is more or less in accordance with what we already know about *Pāśupatas:* He lives in the forest with other brahmin ascetics; he knows and

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

appreciates the doctrines of an early form of *Sāṃkhya;*[61] and he appears in a work from the first or second century AD.

Works of poetry have come down to us that are far more elaborate on the *Pāśupata* or on those who followed this tradition(s), for example, the 7th century farce *Mattavilāsa* written by King Mahendravarman I, Bāṇa's prose novel *Kādambarī* from the 8th century, or Koūhala's verse novel *Līlāvaī*, also composed in the 8th century. Apart from presenting a very old piece of evidence for the history of Śaivism, it does not help us complete or correct our knowledge of the cults and teachings of early Śaivism.

Aśvaghoṣa's depiction of the meeting of the Bodhisattva and the *bhasmaśāyin* is perhaps more revealing in terms of discovering and examining the poet's narrative techniques, his ways of stylization of the literary object and his approach to brahmanical culture. In other words, we learn more about the author's[62] attitude towards the unorthodox ascetic movement, about his poetry and his techniques of narrative structure.

Aśvaghoṣa makes use of poetry (*kāvyopacāra*)[63] in order to convince his (possibly non-Buddhist) audience of the Buddhist faith.[64] For this purpose he chooses the

---

61. Proper *Sāṃkhya* is not found in PS but in the PABh which was composed about two centuries later. See Schulz 1958.

62. I do not claim to make statements about the "real" person of Aśvaghoṣa. I rather refer to what was called the *implicit author* by literary critics following Wayne C. Booth (1961), who distinquished (1) the reader's notion of the author gained from implications in the latter's literary works from (2) the historical author which can be more or less evident from paratextual research. The implicit author and the historical person do not necessarily share the same moral, religious, social etc. attitudes and must therefore not be identified. Likewise, a fictional narrator (3) often does not convey the "real" or the implicit author's attitude, of course, and must also not be confused with the former two.

63. SN 18.63. See also Goodwin 1998: 9 on the strategy of pleasure-instruction (*prītyupadeśa*) which is not known from authors before Aśvaghoṣa.

64. Tilakasiri 1978: 314; similarly Johnston 1936, Vol. II, p. xv f., Warder 1974: 145 (§ 711), Hiltebeitel 2006: 242, Olivelle 2009: xxi f., Eltschinger 2013a: 191. On Aśvaghoṣa's Vedic-brahmanical erudition see Johnston 1936, Vol. II, xlvii-lxxix ("The scholar").

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

predominantly brahmanical genres of the epic and the stage play. And it is but natural to find the brahmins occurring in his works to be depicted in a thoroughly positive manner. His compositions are "written (...) to further the attainment of tranquillity", after all (thus the penultimate stanza of SN).[65] And, to quote from Anthony Warder's magnum opus once again, Aśvaghoṣa "writes with acute sympathy for every character and every aspect of human life".[66] Even an adherent to a pre-tantric tradition, a brahmin performing rites that transgress the revered Vedic injunctions, was not disdained.[67] Instead he was appreciated by being portrayed in considerable detail and he is given a significant part in a key point of the Bodhisattva's path towards Awakening.

Bibliography

Primary sources

BC *Buddhacarita*, ed. in Johnston 2004.

BS *Das Bimbisārasūtra*, in: Ernst Waldschmidt (ed.), *Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte Heft IV*, Leipzig, pp. 114-148.

BV *Buddhavaṃsa*, in: *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, ed. N.A. Jayawickrama, London/Boston 1974 (Pāli Text Sociey Text Series 166).

BVA *Buddhavaṃsaṭṭhakathā* (the edition by I.B. Horner 1946 was not accessible to me; references are to http://www.tipitaka.org/ see *Aṭṭhakathā* → *Suttapiṭaka* → *Kuddhakanikāya* → *Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā*).

---

65. *vyupaśāntaye na rataye ... śrotṝṇām* (SN 18.63), tr. Johnston.
66. Warder 1974: 146 (§ 713).
67. This attitude is far from being expectable for an author who himself was educated as a brahmin. Compare, e.g., the passages directed against traditions transcending vedic religion and brahmanical social mores, collected in the Sanderson 2013 (lecture handout p. 2ff).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

BYT *The Brahmayāmalatantra or Picumata* Vol. 2: *The religious observances and sexual rituals of the tantric practitioner: chapters 3, 21, and 45*, critical edition and annotated translation by Csaba Kiss, Pondychéry/ Hamburg 2015 (Collection Indologie 130, Early Tantra Series 3).

DA *Divyāvadāna, A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends*, ed. E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil, Cambridge 1886 (Nachdr. Amsterdam 1970).

GK *Gaṇakārikā of Haradatta with the commentary Ratnaṭīkā by Bhāsarvajña*, ed. C.D. Dalal, Baroda 1920 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series 15).

JNK *Jātakanidānakathā*, in: Viggo Fausbøll (ed.), *The Jātaka: together with its commentary being tales of the anterior births of Gotama Buddha*, Vol. 1, London 1877 (repr. 1962), p. 1-94.

Kād. *Kādambarī*, ed. Peter Peterson, Bombay 1883 (Bombay Sanskrit Series 24).

LV *Lalita Vistara*, ed. Salomon Lefmann, *Erster Teil: Text*, Halle a.S. 1902; *Teil 2: Varianten-, Metren- und Wörterverzeichnis*, Halle a.S. 1908.

MAS *The Mahāvadānasūtra. A New Edition Based on Manuscripts Discovered in Northern Turkestan*, ed. Takamichi Fukita, Göttingen 2003.

MV *Le Mahâvastu*, ed. Émile Senart, Tome 1-3, Paris 1882, 1890, 1897 (Repr. Tokyo 1977).

NTS *The Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā. The Earliest Surviving Saiva Tantra*, Vol. 1: *A critical edition & annotated translation of the Mulasutra, Uttarasutra & Nayasutra*, ed. by Dominic Goodall in collaboration with Alexis Sanderson and Harunaga Isaacson, with contributions of Niranjan Kafle, Diwakar Acharya and others, Pondychéry/Hamburg 2015 (Collection Indologie 128, Early Tantra Series 1).

PABh *Pañcārthabhāṣya*, see PS.

Pāṇ. Otto Böhtlingk (ed., tr.), *Pāṇini's Grammatik, Abteilung I & II* (in one volume), Delhi 2001 ([1]1839-1840).

PaS *Pabbajjāsutta*, in: Dines Andersen und Helmer Smith (eds.), *Sutta-Nipāta*, London 1913 (Repr. 1984), p. 72-74 (Pāli Text Society).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

PaSV *Pabbajjāsuttavaṇṇanā* (quoted from http://www.tipitaka.org/ see Aṭṭhakathā → Suttapiṭaka → Kuddhakanikāya → Suttanipāta-aṭṭhakathā → Mahāvaggo).

PS *Pāśupatasūtra with Kauṇḍinya's Pancārthabhāṣya*, ed. R. Ananthakrishna Sastri, Trivandrum 1940 (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 143).

Rām. *The Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa*, ed. J. M. Mehta, G. H. Bhatt et al., Baroda 1960-1975.

RṬ *Ratnaṭīkā*, see GK.

SBhV *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu Being the 17th and Last Section of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin*, Part I, ed. Raniero Gnoli Rom 1977 (Serie Orientale Roma 49.1).

SN *The Saundarānanda of Aśvaghoṣa*, ed. E.H. Johnston, London 1928.

SP Cf. SS.

SS *Das Saṅgītisūtra und sein Kommentar Saṅgītiparyāya*, ed. Valentina Stache-Rosen, Teil I: Berlin 1968 (*Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden* Bd. IX, ed. Ernst Waldschmidt).

Secondary sources

Acharya 2011 Diwakar Acharya, "Pāśupatas", in Knut A. Jacobsen et al. (eds.), *Brill's Encyclopedia of Hinduism*, Leiden (u.a.).

Bakker 2014 Hans T. Bakker, *The World of the Skandapurāṇa: Northern India in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries*, Leiden / Boston 2014.

Booth 1961 Wayne C. Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, Chicago 1961.

Bronkhorst 2012 Johannes Bronkhorst, "Buddhist Thought *Versus* Brahmanical Thought", in Piotr Balcerowicz (ed.), *World View and Theory in Indian Philosophy*, Delhi, p. 21-28.

Bronkhorst 2014 Johannes Bronkhorst, "Misunderstood Origins: how Buddhism fooled modern scholarship – and itself", in: D.N. Jha (ed.), *The Complex Heritage of Early India. Essays in Memory of R.S. Sharma*, New Delhi, pp. 307-325

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Debrunner 1954 — Albert Debrunner, Die Nominalsuffixe, in: Wackernagel, *Grammatik des Altindischen* Vol. II.2, Göttingen 1954.

Eltschinger 2013a — Vincent Eltschinger, "Aśvaghoṣa and His Canonical Sources I: Preaching Selflessness to King Bimbisāra and the Magadhans (*Buddhacarita* 16.73–93)", in *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 41: 167-194.

Eltschinger 2013b — Vincent Eltschinger, "Aśvaghoṣa and his canonical sources II: Yaśas, the Kāśyapa brothers and the Buddha's arrival in Rājagṛha (*Buddhacarita* 16.3–71)", in *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 35/1-2: 95-148.

Goldman 1977 — Robert P. Goldman, *Gods, Priests, and Warriors: The Bhṛgus of the Mahābhārata*, New York.

Gombrich 1988 — Richard F. Gombrich, *Theravāda Buddhism. A social history from ancient Benares to modern Colombo*, London.

Goodall 2015 — see NTS.

Goodwin 1998 — Robert E. Goodwin, *The Playworld of Sanskrit Drama*, Delhi 1998.

Hahn 2010 — Michael Hahn, "On Some Late Records About the Buddha's Birth and Genealogy", in Christoph Cueppers, Max Deeg, Hubert Durt (eds.), *The Birth of the Buddha. Proceedings of the Seminar Held in Lumbini, Nepal, October 2004*, Lumbini, p. 129-156.

Ingalls 1962 — Daniel H.H. Ingalls, "Cynics and Pāśupatas: The Seeking of Dishonor", in: *The Harvard Theological Review* 55 (1962): 281-298.

Johnston 1936 (2004) — Edward Hamilton Johnston, *Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha, Complete Sanskrit Text with English Translation*, Lahore 1936 (repr. 2004).

Kiss 2015 — see BYT.

Lamotte 1958 — Étienne Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien: des origines à l'ère Śaka*, Louvain.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Maurer 1979 — Walter H. Maurer, Review of Goldman 1977, in: *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 99.2 (1979): 341-343.

Nihom 1996 — Max Nihom, "Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa 25.25 and 24.117ab: A Study in Literature and Pāśupata Śaivism", in: *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques* 50 (1996): 653-671.

Olivelle 2009 — Patrick Olivelle (ed., tr.), *Life of the Buddha*, New York (The Clay Sanskrit Library).

Sanderson 1988 — Alexis Sanderson, "Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions", in: *The World's Religions*, ed. S. Sutherland et al., London, pp. 660-704.

Sanderson 2006 — Alexis Sanderson, "The Lākulas: New evidence of a system intermediate between Pāñcārthika Pāśupatism and Āgamic Śaivism" in: *The Indian Philosophical Annual* 24: 143-217.

Sanderson 2013 — Alexis Sanderson, "Pleasure and the Emotions in Tantric Śaiva Soteriology", lecture given at the University of Hamburg, 18 June 2013; video recording and handout accessible at http://www.alexissanderson.com/publications.html (retrieved 2015-09-25).

Sanderson 2014 — Alexis Sanderson, "The Śaiva Literature", in *Journal of Indological Studies* 24-25 (2012-2013, publ. 2014): 1-113.

Schulz 1958 — Friedrich August Schulz, *Die philosophisch-theologischen Lehren des Pāśupata-Systems nach dem Pañcārthabhāsya und der Ratnatīkā*, Bonn.

Sharma 2003 — Nripendra Nath Sarma, *Aśvaghosa's Buddhacarita: A Study*, Kolkata 2003

Shulman 2014 — David Shulman, "Waking Aja", in: *Innovations and Turning Points. Towards a History of Kāvya Literature*, ed. Yigal Bronner, David Shulman, Gary Tubb, Oxford, p. 35-70.

Spink 2005-2014 — Walter Spink, *Ajanta: History and Development*, 6 Vols., Leiden 2005-2014 (Handbuch der Orientalistik 2/18).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Tilakasiri 1978 — J. Tilakasiri, "Religious Elements in Sanskrit Poetic Technique", in: *Indologica Taurinensia* 6: 313-323.

Tubb 2014 — Gary Tubb, "Baking Umā", in: *Innovations and Turning Points. Towards a History of Kāvya Literature*, ed. Yigal Bronner, David Shulman, Gary Tubb, Oxford, p. 71-85.

Vekerdi 1999 — József Vekerdi, *Buddha élete (Buddhacarita)*, Budapest (an online version is accessible on the Magyar Elektronikus Könyvtár: http://mek.niif.hu/00100/00158/00158.htm, retrieved 2015-9-25).

Weber 1881 — Albrecht Weber, *Das Saptaçatakam des Hâla*, Leipzig 1881 (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 7/4).

Warder 1974 — Anthony K. Warder, *Indian Kāvya Literature*, Vol. II: *Origins And Formation Of The Classical Kāvya*, Delhi.

Zysk 2008 — Kenneth G. Zysk, "Indian Traditions of Physiognomy: Preliminary Remarks", in: Jacobsen, Knut A. (Ed.): *Theory and Practice of Yoga: Essays in Honour of Gerald James Larson*, Delhi.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Manuscript-copies Procuring Charges*

Charges for Indian Scholars

Sr. No.	Material	Handling Charge	Referring Charge	Digitization Charge	Using own Camera
1.	Paper Manuscript	Rs. 15/- (per MS)	Rs. 15/- (per MS)	Rs. 20/- (per page)	No Charges but the scholar has to submit one digitized copy of the work free of cost to the Institute
2.	Palm Leaf Manuscript	Rs. 30/- (per MS)	Rs. 30/- (per MS)	Rs. 40/- (per page)	No Charges but the scholar has to submit one digitized copy of the work free of cost to the Institute
3.	Illustrated Manuscript	Rs. 30/- (per MS)	Rs. 30/- (per MS)	Rs. 700/- per Exposure/ page	No Charges but the scholar has to submit one digitized copy of the work free of cost to the Institute

Charges for Non-Indian / Foreign Scholars

Sr. No.	Material	Handling Charge	Referring Charge	Digitization Charge	Using own Camera
1.	Paper Manuscript	Rs. 45/- (per MS)	Rs. 45/- (per MS)	Rs. 40/- (per page)	No Charges but the scholar has to submit one digitized copy of the work free of cost to the Institute
2.	Palm Leaf Manuscript	Rs. 90/- (per MS)	Rs. 90/- (per MS)	Rs. 80/- (per page)	No Charges but the scholar has to submit one digitized copy of the work free of cost to the Institute
3.	Illustrated Manuscript	Rs. 90/- (per MS)	Rs. 90/- (per MS)	Rs. 1400/- per Exposure/ page	No Charges but the scholar has to submit one digitized copy of the work free of cost to the Institute

Kindly note -

- **Copies can be delivered On-line or in CD/DVD** by registered Post- parcel/Courier or can be collected in person.
- **Money** can be **transferred** in the following Current Bank Account of **Oriental Institute**

  Bank : **Bank of Baroda** (Current Account at Dandia Bazar Branch, Vadodara)
  Account No. : 05780200000213
  Branch Code : BARB0DANDIA (Fifth Character is Zero)
  Swift Code : BARBINBBRM
- **Contact details of the Oriental Institute:**

  Phone No. : 0265-2425121
  E-Mail : director-oriental@msubaroda.ac.in
  Director's Mobile No. : 09898472669
- The four volumes of **'An Alphabetical List of Manuscripts'** available on **www.msubaroda.ac.in**

---

* Charges as per the Letter No. 289, dated 10.9.2012 of S.R. No.14, dated 31.07.2012

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

SCIENTIFIC AND MEDICINAL EVALUATION OF *AŚVAGANDHĀ* (*WITHANIA SOMNIFERA* (LINN.) *DUNAL*)

Dhananjay Vasudeo Dwivedi*

Abstract: *Aśvagandhā*, botanically known as *Withania Somnifera* is well known for its medicinal values. It is a much branched perennial herb found throughout the drier parts of India. Due to its rich medicinal properties, this herb has been used by traditional healers from ancient times. Considered as *Rasāyana*, it is known for boosting immune system of the body. If taken in proper dose, it increases energy level of the person concerned. Synonyms of this herb which are discussed in *Nighaṇṭu* books hints about, properties and significance of *Aśvagandhā*. This herb promotes mental and physical strength and is known for rejuvenating properties. Various *Nighaṇṭu* books, *Āyurveda* texts and *Purāṇas* have discussed medicinal properties of this herb at length. Present day botanists and medicinal practitioners can be benefited from *Āyurveda* repository. According to *Āyurveda* texts, it is a tonic; it cures cough, bronchial asthma and consumption. It is also used in treating insomnia and breathing problems. As it is helpful in boosting immune system, treating breathing problems and considered as rejuvenator, researchers should go for clinical research for treating COVID-19 like viral infections using *Aśvagandhā* and various formulations of which *Aśvagandhā* is an important ingredient.

Key Words: *Aśvagandhā*, Energy, *Rasāyaṇa*, *Vāta*, *Kapha*

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO. 124, Vol. 69, 2020, pp. 25-47.

* Department of Sanskrit, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee University, Ranchi; (M) 9431590113, Email- dvd1309@gmail.com,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Introduction

Aśvagandhā, botanically known as *Withania Somnifera*, is one of significant medicinal herbs described in *Āyurvedic* tradition. It is well known for its rich medicinal values from time immemorial. Experts of *Āyurveda* consider this herb as "*Rasāyana*[1] ". Being *Rasāyana*, it is instrumental in attaining long life, regaining strength, energy and strength, a sharp memory, a glossy skin and so on so forth. Going by these facts it is loud and clear that this herb is bound to boost immune system of any individual enabling him or her to fight even with deadly diseases. In effect, by consuming *Aśvagandhā* as prescribed in *Āyurvedic* texts, one can get rid from various ailments. *Aśvagandhā* is so called because of the fact that it's fresh root has a "horse-like" odour. In the various languages of India, *Aśvagandhā* has has several vernacular names - *Asgandh* (Hindi), *Ghodakun* (Gujurati), *Vajigandha* (Telugu), *Amukkuram* (Tamil) and *Viremaddinagaddi* (Kannada). Winter cherry is English name for this herb. Almost all the parts of this plant are used for medicinal purposes. *Aśvagandhā* has been used for treating asthma, cold & coughs apart from allergies induced by low immunity. There are numerous *Āyurvedic* formulations that contain *Aśvagandhā* as an important constituent. Some of the formulations containing *Aśvagandhā* are *Aśvagandhādicurna*, *Aśvagandhādi Taila*, *Aśvagandhādi Kvātha*, *Aśvagandhādyariṣṭa Aśvagandhā Rasāyana*, *Aśvagandhā Lepa*, *Aśvagandhā Lehya* and *Aśvagandhā Ghrita*. These formulations are used for treating numbers of diseases.

Synonyms of *Aśvagandhā* and their Significance-

According to *Bhāvaprakāśa Nighaṇṭu*, *Hayāhvayā*, *Varāhakarṇī*, *Varadā*, *Baladā* and *Kuṣṭhagandhini* are synonyms for *Aśvagandhā*-

---

1 It is a formulation which rejuvenates the body and is considered to be tonic. It ameliorates ill effects of the old that is *jarā* and *vyādhi*. It promotes body and mind.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

अश्वगन्धा हयाह्वया । वराहकर्णी वरदा बलदा कुष्ठगन्धिनी ।।[2]

According to *Rājanighaṇṭu*, following 23 are the synonyms of *Aśvagandhā-Aśvagandhā, Vājigandhā, Kambukāṣṭhā, Varāhikā, Varahakarṇī, Turagī, Vanajā, Vājinī, Hayī, Puṣṭidā, Baladā, Puṇyā, Hayagandhā, Pīvarā, Palāśaparṇī, Vātaghnī, Śyāmalā, Kāmarūpiṇī, Kālapriyakarī, Balyā, Gandhapatrī, Hayapriyā* and *Varāhapatrī-*

अश्वगन्धा वाजिगन्धा कम्बुकाष्ठा वराहिका । वराहकर्णी तुरगी वनजा वाजिनी हयी ।।
पुष्टिदा बलदा पुण्या हयगन्धा च पीवरा । पलाशपर्णी वातघ्नी श्यामला कामरूपिणी ।।
कालप्रियकरी बल्या गन्धपत्री हयप्रिया । वराहपत्री विज्ञेया त्रयोविंशतिनामका ।। [3]

According to *Madanapāla Nighaṇṭu, Turaṅgāvā, Gokarṇa, Avarohaka, Varahakarṇī, Varadā, Balyā, Vājīkarī* and *Vṛṣa* are synonyms for *Aśvagandhā-*

अश्वगन्धा तुरङ्गाह्वा गोकर्णश्चावरोहकः । वराहकर्णी वरदा बल्या वाजीकरी वृषा ।। [4]

According to *Soḍhala Nighaṇṭu* following are synonyms for *Aśvagandhā-Varāhakarṇī, Turagī, Balyā, Vājīkarī, Aśvagandhā, Kuṣṭhagandhā, Kandarā, Aśvāvarohaka, Varagātrakarī, Puṇyā, Śiṣṭagandhā, Pīvarā, Elāparṇī, Mārutaghnī, Śyāmalā* and *Kāmarūpiṇī-*

वराहकर्ण्या तुरगी बल्या वाजीकरी स्मृता । अश्वगन्धा कुष्ठगन्धा कन्दराऽश्वावरोहकः ।।
वरगात्रकरी पुण्या शिष्टगन्धा च पीवरा । एलापर्णी मारुतघ्नी श्यामला कामरूपिणी ।। [5]

---

2. *Bhāvaprakāśa Nighaṇṭu-Guḍūcyādi Varga*/189
3 *Rājanighaṇṭu*-4/109-111
4 *Madanapāla Nighaṇṭu-Abhayādi Varga*/173
5 *Soḍhala Nighaṇṭu-Guḍūcyādi Varga*/270

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Herein significance of some of the synonyms of *Aśvagandhā* is being pointed out-

Synonyms of *Aśvagandhā*	**Significance**
Aśvagandhā, Vājigandhā, Hayagandhā	This is a herb having the odour of horse.
Aśvakanda	Root emits smell of horse.
Aśvāvarohikā	The herb promotes sexual potency like that of horse.
Baladā	It promotes strength.
Balyā, Puṣṭidā	It is considered to be tonic, which promotes body weight and strength.
Gandhaparṇī, Gandhapatrī	Leaves of this herb smell like that of horse.
Gokarṇa	This is a plant having leaves resembling cow's ears.
Hayāhvayā	Because of providing horse's potency, it is known by the title of horse.
Hayapriyā	It is liked by horses.
Kāmarūpiṇī	It gives good look and complexion to the person who consumes it.
Kañcukā	The herb helps in increasing and retaining semen.
Mārutaghnī, Vātaghnī	The herb is useful in treating disorders caused due to imbalance caused by *Vāta*.
Puṇyā	It is considered to be highly worthy in treatment of diseases
Putradā	The herb provides male progeny.
Vanajā	It breeds in forest areas in abundance.
Varadā	It is highly beneficial for mankind.
Varahākarṇī, Varahāpatrī	This is a plant having leaves resembling pig's ears.
Vṛṣā	This herb increases sexual potency.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Distribution-

This plant breeds throughout the dry parts of India, in waste places, on bunds in areas of upper genetic plain, West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Gujarat, Konkan, Deccan, Uttarakhand, Uttar Pradesh, Chhatisagarh, Madhya Pradesh and Karnataka. It grows in semitropical areas receiving 500-750 mm rainfall. Crop requires relatively dry season during its growing period. There are two varieties of the plant: a) Cultivated and b) Wild. The wild variety is sedative, hallucinative, diuretic and used externally. Cultivated variety is used internally.

Botanical Description-

Aśvagandhā is a much branched wild perennial herb. It is a branched erect shrub, growing up to 0.3-1.5 metre in height. Branches of this plant are distributed in all directions and are rounded. The roots of this herb are plump and when dry are cylindrical, gradually tapering. The root of this plant is whitish brown externally and of a fine white colour internally. It is said that the tender wet root smells like a horse. Roots are tap-rooted and branched. The stems are aerial, erect, cylindrical, herbaceous above, woody below, densely covered with fine stellate (arranged in a radiating pattern) hairs. The leaves are 5-10 centimetre long and 2.5-5cm broad, ovate and hairy. Leaves are cauline and ramal, alternate or in unequal pairs, ovate, ovate-oblong, or ovate lanceolate (of a narrow oval shape tapering to a point at each end), entire, acute or obtuse, tapering to the base; petiolate, petiole thick and long; reticulate unicostate ventation, covered with glandular branched hair. The flowers are greenish or lurid yellow in colour, about 5 together in an umbellate cyme. They are greenish yellow, subsessile, pedicellates, complete, bisexual, pentamerous, actinomorphic and hypogynous. Its fruits are small, round, juicy, capsulated, juicy, yellow or red when ripe. Its seeds are small, slimy and flat. They are endospermic.[6]

---

6 . *A Text book of Dravyaguṇa Vijñāna*,pp.95-96, *Dravyaguṇa Vijñāna*, pp-243-248

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Taxonomical Classification of *Aśvagandhā*

Botanical Name- *Withania somnifera* (Linn.) Dunal

Kingdom-Plantae

Class-Dicotylendons

Subclass-Gamopetalae

Series-Bicarpellate

Order-Polemoniales

Family-Solanaceae

Genus-Withania

Species-somnifera

Medicinal Properties of *Aśvagandhā*-

Aśvagandhā is alexipharmic (having the quality or nature of an antidote to poison), aphrodisiac (an agent that arouses or is held to arose sexual desire), astringent, deobstruent (a medicine that removes obstructions), diuretic (tending to increase the excretion of urine), hypnotic (tending to produce sleep), and sedative (tending to calm, moderate or tranquilize nervousness or excitement), restorative and tonic. It is useful in carbuncles (a painful local purulent inflammation of the skin and deeper tissues with multiple openings for the discharge of pus and usually necrosis and sloughing of dead tissue), consumption (a progressive wasting away of the body especially from pulmonary tuberculosis), cough, debility from old age, dropsy, emaciation of children, general weakness and nervine disorders. It promotes urination, removes functional obstruction of body, and used to cure rheumatism (any of various conditions characterised by inflammation or pain in muscles, joints, or fibrous tissue), scrofula (tuberculosis of lymph nodes especially in the neck), senile decay and inflammations, it is useful in vulnerary treatment. The roots have bitter sharp, acrid taste, heating, aphrodisiac, tonic, anthelmintic and they are useful in *Vāta* and *Kapha*; and recommended in management of oedema, psoriasis, bronchitis, asthma, consumption, ulcers, scabies, marasmus (a condition of chronic undernourishment caused by a diet

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

deficient in calories and proteins) of the children, insomnia, senile debility; and it is alexipharmic and useful against poisons. The decoction of the roots is useful for colds and chills. The leaves are anthelmintic (expelling or destroying parasitic worms especially of the intestine) and febrifuge (anti-pyretic, pyretic means relating to fever). A fomentation of the leaves is used for sore eyes, boils and swollen hands and feet. A paste of leaves is locally applied to kill lice infesting the body and over carbuncles and syphilitic sores. An ointment prepared by boiling the leaves in *ghṛta* is useful for bedsores and wounds. The leaves are applied to tumours and to tuberculous glands. The fruits are useful as diuretic and given in urinary disorders. Berries are considered useful for chest complaints. An infusion of the bark is useful for asthma (a chronic lung disorder that is marked by recurring episodes of airway obstruction). Though *Aśvagandhā* is popular for its aphrodisiac and rejuvenative properties, it is beneficial for a wide range of problems. It has a marked anti-arthritic activity. Being a potent pain-killer and an anti-inflammatory in its properties, it stands as an effective remedy in rheumatic disorders. The mild sedative effect of *Aśvagandhā* has a calming effect on mind, hence promotes sound sleep and is beneficial to alleviate the mental stress in anxiety neurosis. The regular intake of *Aśvagandhā* is a boon to sportsperson to improve their muscle tone and power. It is very useful as a nervine tonic and is commonly used in *Vāta* diseases. In bronchial asthma and spasmodic cough, the ash of its burnt roots is given with honey and ghee to liquify the phlegm and mucous in the clogged channels to facilitate expectoration. *Aśvagandhā* also helps to maintain the heart in good condition. It is a blood purifier.[7] According to *Paippalāda Saṃhitā*, *Aśvagnadhā* root juice is given as *Nasya* (medication through nose.) to achieve conception.[8] It is a well documented herb in ancient Indian medicine and is considered as panacea. *Aśvagandhā* is a general tonic and aphrodisiac agent. This herb is widely consumed for its ability to impart sexual vigour and vitality. It is one of the prime important plant used a *Rasāyana*-a rejuvenator. Traditional healers suggest of powder of *Aśvagandhā* with milk for

7 *Indian Medicinal Plants*, pp 25-26, *Dravyaguṇa Vijñāna*, pp 243-248
8 *Paippalāda Saṃhitā* -1/89/3

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

treating low blood pressure. It is also helpful in treating insomnia caused due to imbalanced blood pressure. People who undergo physical and mental strain are suggested to consume preparations made from *Aśvagandhā*. *Aśvagandhā* is administered to women after delivery in various ways. It is believed that it purifies uterus as well as increases the body strength. *Aśvagandhā* is considered to be great medicine for strengthening muscles.

Medicinal properties of this tree has been described in *Nighaṇṭu* texts, others *Āyurvedic* texts and some *Purāṇas*. Medicinal properties of *Aśvagandhā* have been described when used in isolation as well as when taken along with some other herbs. While *Nighaṇṭu* texts have described the medicinal properties of this plant when taken alone, other *Āyurvedic* texts have described medicinal properties of *Aśvagandhā* when taken with other herbs.

Bhāvaprakāśa Nighaṇṭu-

According to *Bhāvaprakāśa Nighaṇṭu*, *Aśvagandhā* mitigates *Vāta*[9], *Śleṣma*[10], leucoderma, consumption, bestows strength, is rejuvenator, bitter, astringent, hot in potency, and a great producer of semen-

अश्वगन्धाऽनिलश्लेष्मश्वित्रशोथक्षयापहा । बल्या रसायनी तिक्ता कषायोष्णाऽतिशुक्रला ।।[11]

Rājanighaṇṭu-

According to *Rājanighaṇṭu*, *Aśvagandhā* is pungent, bitter, hot and has a typical intoxicating fragrance. It promotes strength and quells *Vāta doṣa*. It is indicated in cough, asthma, tuberculosis and wounds-

---

9 It is one of the three *doṣas* that form the basics of *Āyurveda* doctrine. In general, *Vāta* controls all movement in body and mind. It relates directly to the nervous system which controls all movement. It relates to the systems of circulation, respiration, muscular movement, motor function, the five senses, evacuation, lactation, menstruation, sexual function, and sweating. *Vāta* directly relates to the bones and bone structure. *Vāta* creates dryness in the body when too high and sluggishness when too low.

10 It is one of the three *doṣas* of the body better known as *Kapha*.

11 *Bhāvaprakāśa Nighaṇṭu-Guḍūcyādi Varga*/190

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

अश्वगन्धा कटूष्णा स्यात्तिक्ता च मदगन्धिका । बल्या वातहरा हन्ति कासश्वासक्षयव्रणान् ।।[12]

Madanapāla Nighaṇṭu

According to *Madanapāla Nighaṇṭu*, *Aśvagandhā* is bitter and astringent in taste, eliminates *Vāta* and *Kapha*[13] *doṣas*, does away with oedema and leucoderma. It promotes strength in body and is rejuvenator. It is hot in potency and is helpful in producing semen.[14]

Soḍhala Nighaṇṭu

According to *Soḍhala Nighaṇṭu, Aśvagandhā* mitigates *Vāta*. It is *Balyā* (a tonic). It cures *Kāsa (*Cough*), Śvāsa* (Bronchial asthma) and *Kṣaya* (Consumption)-

तुरगी वातहृद्बल्या कासश्वासक्षये हिता ।[15]

Agnipurāṇa

A man by taking *Aśvagandhā* and oil of *Pala* (*Pala scholaris*) with treacle and clarified butter, would live a full life of hundred years-

अश्वगन्धा पलं तैलं साज्यं खण्डं शताब्दवान् ।।[16]

---

12 *Rājanighaṇṭu*-4/112

13 It is also one of the three *doṣas* that form the basics of *Āyurveda* doctrine. The *Kapha* is responsible for stability of our body and mind. *Kapha* mainly exists in the body as plasma, blood, muscle and fat tissues. It provides the lubrication and basis for the body. Flexibility and growth are controlled by *Kapha*. Moisture and fluid retention is maintained by this *doṣa*. When *Kapha* is too high it restricts *Vāta* and subdues *Pitta*. It creates congestion on all levels of the body. To little *Kapha* is like high *Vāta*, dryness and ungrounded thoughts and actions.

14 *Madanapāla Nighaṇṭu- Abhayādi Varga*/174

15 *Soḍhala Nighaṇṭu-Guḍūcyādi Varga*/270

16 *Agnipurāṇa*-286/14

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Garuḍapurāṇa

A medicinal *ghṛt* cooked with the expressed juice of *Aśvagandhā* and four times as much milk is constructive, aphrodisiac and remedial to nervous diseases and sterility-

अश्वगन्धाकषाये च कल्के क्षीरे चतुर्गुणे । घृतपक्वंतु वातघ्नं वृष्यं मां साय पुत्रकृत् ।।[17]

External application of the plaster composed of the earth of an ant-hill cooked in combination with *Aśvagandhā, Mūlaka* (*Raphanus sativus*) and water alleviate the form rheumatism known as *ūrustambha* (paralysis of the thigh)-

अश्वगन्धामूलकाभ्यां सिद्धा वल्मीकमृत्तिका । एतया मर्दनाद्रुद्र ऊरुस्तम्भः प्रशाम्यति ।।[18]

Pills composed of *Aśvagandhā, Yava* (*Hordeum vulgare*), *Tila* (*Sesamum indicum*), *Musalī* (*Curculigo orchioides*), *Saralā* (*Pinus longifolia*) and *Guḍa* act as splendid rejuvenating and constructive remedies-

यवास्तिलाश्वगन्धा च मुशली सरला गुडम् । एभिश्च रचितां जग्ध्वा तरुणो तरुणो बलवान्भवेत् ।।[19]

By regularly taking a compound *Aśvagandhā, Māṣa* (*Vigna mungo*) pulse and treacle, an old man may be young over again-

अश्वगन्धानागबलागुडमाषनिषेविणः। रूपं भवेद्यथा तद्वन्नवयौवनाचारिणाम् ।। [20]

An application of a plaster composed of *Aśvagandhā* or *Pippalī* (*Piper longum*), or *Vacā* (*Acorus calamus*) and *Kuṣṭha* (*Saussurea costus*) pasted together with buffalo butter, alleviates pain in the mamma and the urethral canal-

माहिषं नवनीतञ्च अश्वगन्धा च पिप्पली । वचा कुष्ठद्वयं लेपो लिङ्गस्रोतस्तना समन्वितम् ।। [21]

Caraka Saṃhitā

Aśvagandhā, Kuṣṭha, both types of *Haridrā* (*Curcuma longa*), *Tulasī* (*Ocimum sanctum*), *Paṭola* (*Trichosanthes dioica*), *Nimba* (*Azadirachta indica*), *Devadāru*

17 *Garuḍapurāṇa*-170/37
18 *Ibid*,177/52
19 *Ibid*,182/5
20 *Ibid*,185/19
21 *Ibid*,190/3

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

(*Cedrus deodara*), *Śigru* (*Moringa pterygosperma*), *Sarṣapa* (*Brassica juncea*), *Tumburu* (*Zanthoxylum armatum*), *Dhānyaka* (*Coriandrum sativum*), *Kaivarta*, *Mustaka* (*Cyperus rotundus*) and *Caṇḍa* should be powdered in equal quantity. These grounded with buttermilk should be used for anointing on the body already smeared with oil. By this itching, boils, urticarial patches, skin diseases and various types of oedema are alleviated-

कुष्ठं हरिद्रे सुरसं पटोलं निम्बाश्वगन्धे सुरदारुशिग्रू । ससर्षपं तुम्बुरुधान्यवन्यं चण्डां च चूर्णानि समानि कुर्यात् ।
तैस्तक्रपिष्टैः प्रथमं शरीरं तैलाक्तमुद्धर्तयितुं यतेत। तेनास्य कण्डूः पिडकाः सकोठाः कुष्ठानि शोफाश्च शमं व्रजन्ति।।[22]

Aśvagandhā, *Jīvantī* (*Leptadenia reticulata*), *Śatāvarī* (*Asparagus racemosus*), *Mañjiṣṭhā* (*Rubia cordifolia*), *Punarnavā* (*Boerhavia diffusa*), *Apāmārga* (*Achyranthes aspera*), *Tarkārī* (*Clerodendrum phlomidis*), *Madhūka* (*Glycyrrhiza glabra*), *Balā* (*Sida cordifolia*), *Vidārī* (*Pueraria tuberosa*), *Sarṣapa* (*Brassica rapa*), *Kuṣṭha*, rice grains, linseed, black gram, sesamum and yeast-all should be powdered together. Powder of barley should be added three times of the above powder. This is further added with curd and honey. This anointment promotes nourishment, complexion and strength-

जीवन्तीं शतवीर्यां च विकसां सपुनर्नवाम् ।। अश्वगन्धामपागमार्गं तर्कारीं मधूकं बलाम् ।
विदारीं सर्षपं कुष्ठं तण्डुलानतसीफलम् । माषांस्तिलांश्च किण्वं सर्वमेकत्र चूर्णयेत् ।
यवचूर्णत्रिगुणितं दध्ना युक्तं समाक्षिकम् ।। एतदुत्सादनं कार्यं पुष्टिवर्णबलप्रदम् ।[23]

Aśvagandhā, *Śvetā* (*Hemidesmus indicus*), *Vacā*, *Hiṅgu* (*Ferula asafoetida*), *Guḍūcī* (*Tinospora cordifolia*), *Kuṣṭha*, *Saindhava*, *Laśuna* (*Allium sativum*), *Sarṣapa*, *Kapitha* (*Feronia limonia*), seeds of *Syonāka* (*Oroxylum indicum*) and *Karañja* (*Millettia pinnata*), *Trikaṭu* (*Trikaṭu* is the Sanskrit name for a group of medicinal plants- *Pippalī* (long pepper), *Marica* (black pepper), *Śuṇṭhī* (dried ginger), *Śirīṣa* (*Albizia lebbeck*) flowers, two types of *Haridrā*, *Vaṃślocana*-all in equal parts are pounded with goat's urine and impregnated with cow's and horse's bile alternately for a week. This counteracts the poison quickly if applied on head.

---

22 *Caraka Saṃhitā-Su*/3/7-8
23 *Ibid*,*Ci*/8/175-178

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Besides, it alleviates all sorts of fever, seizures by evil spirits and *grahas*[24], *visūcikā*[25], indigestion and fainting, by application as collyrium, it alleviates insanity, epilepsy, *kāca* (eye disease), *paṭala* (An eye disease in which vision becomes distorted, a person concerned sees flies, mosquitoes, webs, sources, flags, rays, circular objects, flying objects, rain, sky, darkness etc. which are not actually present), *nīlikā* (a minor skin disease characterized by coloured circular patches on the face or body), head diseases, *suṣkākṣipāka*, *pilla* (bleared eye), *arbuda* (tumours), *arma* (Petrygium. *Arma* is an indisposition in which a triangular patch of mucous membrane grows in conjunctiva usually from the nasal side of the eye and spreads towards the pupil.), itching, vision of darkness, wasting, debility, alcoholism and confusion. If applied as paste it counteracts poison contaminated through injury with poisoned arrow, licking, biting or ingestion. In piles and hardness of bowels, it is pasted on anus. Similarly, in obstructed or abnormally presented foetus in women, it is applied on vagina and in coryza on forehead. It is also applied in cases of scrotal enlargement, *kitibha* (Psoriasis: Skin black, rough creating dry sound on scratching), *kuṣṭha* (Leprosy), leucoderma, eczema etc. This anti-poison formulation named as *Gandhahastī* destroys the toxic effects of poisons as elephant destroys the trees.[26]

The alkali of *Aśvagandhā* taken with honey and ghee is beneficial in treating dyspnoea (sudden and severe shortness of breath or difficulty in breathing).[27]

In *Ūrustambha* (Paralysis of thigh), thick anointing should be done on with roots of *Aśvagandhā* or *Devadāru* mixed with honey, mustard and earth from ant-hill or

---

24. It is affliction relation of human beings and supernatural powers
25 It is a disease in which patient suffers from pricking pain as though pierced by needles. Fainting, diarrhoea, vomiting, excessive thirst, colic pain, giddiness, cramps, yawning, a burning sensation and also discolouration of the body, tremors, precordial pain and headache are the features of this disease.
26 *Caraka Saṃhitā-Ci*/23/70-76
27 Ibid, *Ci*/17/117

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

with *Dantī* (*Baliospermum montanum*), *Dravantī* (*Merremia emarginata*), *Surasā* (*Ocimum tenuiflorum*) and mustard.[28]

Suśruta Saṃhitā

Upon the development of emaciation *Aśvagandhā, Vidāragandhā, Śatāvarī* (*Asparagus racemosus*), *Payasyā* (*Euphorbia thymifolia*), *Balā* (*Sida cordifolia*), *Atibalā* (*Abutilon indicum*) and *Nāgabalā* and other drugs which are sweet (*Madhura* group) should be taken-

उत्पने तु पयस्याश्वगन्धाविदारिगन्धाशतावरीबलातिबलानागबलानां मधुराणामन्यासां चौषधीनामुपयोगः। [29]

Massage by an oil processed with *Aśvagandhā, Śatāvarī, Payasyā, Eraṇḍa* (*Ricinus communis*) and the *Jīvani* group of drugs along with milk helps to elongates the ear lobules. Applications of the pastes of barely, *Aśvagandhā, Madhūka* (*Glycyrrhiza glabra*) and sesamum seeds are also beneficial-

यवाश्वगन्धायष्ट्याह्वैस्तिलैश्चोद्वर्तनं हितम् । शतावर्यश्वगन्धाभ्यां पयस्यैरण्डजीवनैः ।।
तैलं विपक्वं सक्षीरमभ्यङ्गात् पालिवर्धनम् ।[30]

External applications of *Aśvagandhā, Ajagandhā* (*Cleome gynandra*), *Kālā* (*Cicer Arietinum*), *Saralā* (*Operculina turpethum*), *Ekaiṣikā* and *Ajaśṛṅgī* remove the inflammation due *Kapha*-

अजगन्धाऽश्वगन्धा च काला सरलया सह । एकैषिकाऽजशृङ्गी च प्रलेपः श्लेष्मशोफहृत् ।।[31]

Wicks of healing should be prepared from *Aśvagandhā, Soma* (*Sarcostemma acidum*), *Amṛta* (*Trichosanthes dioica*), *Kākola* etc. group of drugs and sprouts of *Kṣīra* (milk) in trees-

सोमामृताश्वगन्धासु काकोल्यादौ गणे तथा । क्षीरिप्ररोहेष्वपि च वर्तयो रोपणाः स्मृताः ।। [32]

---

28 *Ibid,Ci*/27/49-51
29 *Suśruta Saṃhitā-Sū*/15/33
30 *Ibid, Sū*/16/21-22
31 *Ibid, Sū*/37/6
32 *Ibid, Sū*/37/23

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Aśvagandhā is recommended for encouraging granulation tissue formation in wounds.[33] In cases of *Vāta-rakta* with *Kapha* predominance, the paste of *Tila* and *Aśvagandhā* should be used.[34]

Ajagandhā (*Cleome gynandra*), *Aśvagandhā, Saralā, Kālā, Ekaiṣikā* and *Ajaśṛṅgi* ground in cow's urine and applied as a paste very quickly cures cellulitis of *Kapha* origin-

अजाऽश्वगन्धा सरला सकाला सैकेषिका चाप्यथवाऽजशृङ्गी ।
गोमूत्रपिष्टो विहितः प्रदेहो हन्याद्विसर्पं कफजं स शीघ्रम् ।। [35]

Apāmārga, Yaṣṭimadhu (*Glycyrrhiza glabra*), *Saindhava* and *Devadāru* with *Aśvagandhā* and fruits of *Mūlaka* and *Avalguja* (*Psoralea corylifolia*) should be fully pasted and cooked with *ghṛta*, oil, fat, marrow and wax, along with milk. This preparation should be applied on ear-lobule, to treat *paripoṭaka* (Crack in the ear-lobule) disease-

खरमञ्जरियष्ट्याह्वसैन्धवामरदारुभिः। सुपिष्टै साश्वगन्धैश्च मूलकावल्गुजैः फलैः ।
सर्पिस्तैलवसामज्जमधूच्छिष्टानि पाचयेत् । सक्षीराण्यथ तैः पालिं प्रदिह्यात् परिपोटके । [36]

The oil cooked with *Aśvagandhā, Tālapatrī, Arka* (*Calotropis gigantea*), seeds of *Bākucī* (*Psoralea corylifolia*), *Saindhava, Saralā* and *Lāṅgalī* (*Gloriosa superba*) along with *Kulīra godhā* and fats and irrigation with the decoction of the leaves of *Aśmantaka* (*Bauhinia tomentosa*), *Jambu* (*Syzygium cumini*) and mango are useful in destroying the disease *Unmantha* (Swelling due to quick piercing)-

तालपत्र्यश्वगन्धार्कबाकुचीफलसैन्धवैः। तैलं कुलीरगोधाभ्यां वसया सह पाचितम् ।।
सरलालाङ्गलीभ्यां च हितमुन्मथनाशनम् । तथाऽश्मन्तकजम्ब्वाम्रपत्रक्वाथेन सेचनम् ।। [37]

---

33 *Ibid, Sū*/37/30.
34 *Ibid, Ci*/5/10
35 *Ibid, Ci*/17/14
36 *Ibid, Ci*/25/14-16
37 *Ibid, Ci*/25/18-19

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

An *Agada*[38] composed of *Aśvagandhā, Dhava* (*Anogeissus latifolia*), *Atibala, Balā, Śāliparṇi* and *Pṛṣṇiparni* is destroyer of the poisoning due to bites by *Viśvambhara* (Poisonous insects) class of insects -

धवाश्वगन्धातिबलाबलासातिगुहागुहाः । विश्वम्भराभिदष्टानामगदोऽयं विषापहः ।। [39]

Aśvagandhā, Bilva (*Aegle marmelos*), *Eraṇḍa, Arka, Punarnavā* (*Boerhavia diffusa*), *Kapittha, Dhatūrā* (*Datura metel*), *Śigru, Aśvagandhā, Araṇi* (*Clerodendrum phlomidis*) and *Yava*: all these drugs should be boiled with sour gruel and used for the purposes of *Nāḍisveda* (Tube fomentation). It completely cures the *karṇa śūla* (Earache) originating due to *Kapha* and *Vāta*-

बिल्वैरण्डार्कवर्षाभूदधित्थोन्मत्तशिग्रुभिः । बस्तगन्धाश्वगन्धाभ्यां तर्कारीयववेणुभिः ।।
आरनालशृतैरेभिर्नाडीस्वेदः प्रयोजितः । कफवातसमुत्थानं कर्णशूलं निरस्यति ।। [40]

The decoctions of *Aśvagandhā, Ajaśṛṅgī, Sārivā* (*Hemidesmus indicus*), *Punarnavā*, both kinds of *Sahā* and *Vidārī* (*Pueraria tuberosa*) are good for sprinkling on the body of the child-

अश्वगन्धा च शृङ्गी च सारिवा सपुनर्नवा । सहे तथा विदारी च कषायाः सेचने हिताः ।।[41]

A paste prepared from *Aśvagandhā, Tila* and *Māṣa* powders and taken with *ghṛta* prepared from goat's milk along with honey cures consumption disease. Powdered sugar, *Aśvagandhā* and *Māgadhi* (*Piper Longum*) should be given to lick with *ghṛta* and honey to cure consumption. Milk processed with *Aśvagandhā* should be given to drink; it provides nourishment to the organs of the body or else *ghṛta* obtained from milk processed with the same should be administered in the morning with a lot of sugar, followed by a drink of milk. *Aśvagandhā, Yava* and both types of *Punarnavā* should be used for *Utsādana* (paste massage)-

---

38 *Agada* means the medicaments which are used as antidotes to combat the morbid conditions. In effect, the word *Agada* is formed by the combination of the terms A and *Gada*. *Gada* means disease, discomfort, pain, poison or morbid conditions produced by any type of the poison inhaled, absorbed, applied, injected or developed within body. *Agada* is opposite to the term *Gada*

39 *Suśruta Saṃhitā-Ka*/8/51

40 *Ibid, Ka*/21/6-7

41 *Ibid, Ka*/31/3

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

घृतेन चाजेन समाक्षिकेण तुरङ्गगन्धातिलमाषचूर्णम् । सिताश्वगन्धामगधोद्भवानां चूर्णं घृतक्षौद्रयुतं प्रलिह्यात् ।।
क्षीरं पिबेद्वाप्यथ वाजिगन्धाविपक्वमेवं लभतेऽङ्गपुष्टिम् । तदुत्थितं क्षीरघृतं सिताढ्यं प्रातः पिबेद्वाऽपि पयोनुपानम् ।।
उत्सादने चापितुरङ्गगन्धा योज्या यवाश्चैव पुनर्नवे च ।[42]

Ghṛta prepared from *Aśvagandhā* when taken every day morning or the milk processed with *Aśvagandhā* taken with sugar helps to relieve *Śoṣa* (emaciation).[43]

Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya

Ghee obtained from milk boiled with decoction of *Aśvagandhā* consumed along with sugar and milk cures consumption.[44]

Aśvagandhā consumed along with ghee, oil or warm water for a period of half of month makes an emaciated body of a child well grown just as the rain makes the plant-

पीताऽश्वगन्धा पयसाऽर्धमासं घृतेन तैलेन सुखाम्बुना वा ।
कृशस्य पुष्टिं वपुषो विधत्ते बालस्य सस्यस्य यथा सुवृष्टिः ।।[45]

Bhaiṣajya Ratnāvalī

According to *Bhaiṣajya Ratnāvalī*, *Aśvagandhā* belongs to the *Śatāvarī* group of herbs which is meant for aphrodisiac uses. Other herbs of this group are- *Śatāvarī*, *Balā*, *Dhātrī* (*Phyllanthus emblica*), *Guḍūcī* (*Tinospora cordifolia*), *Vṛiddhadāraka*, *Vānarī* (*Mucuna pruriens*), *Bhṛingarāja*, *Vidārī*, *Gokṣura* (*Tribulus terrestris*), *Kolilākṣa*, *Aśvagandhā*, and *Pīppala* (*Ficus religiosa*).[46]

---

42 *Ibid, Ka*/41/41-43
43 Ibid, U/41/42
44 *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya-Ci*/5/24-25
45 *Ibid, U*/39/157
46. *Bhaisajya Ratnāvalī*-2/143-144.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Aśvagandhā is an important ingredient of *Tagarādi Kvātha* which is helpful in treating *Pralāpaka Jvara*. Other ingredients are *Tagara* (*Valeriana jatamansi*), *Parpaṭa* (*Fumaria parviflora*), *Āragvadha* (*Cassia fistula*), *Mustā* (*Cyperus rotundus*), *Kaṭukī* (*Picrorhiza kurrooa*), *Lāmajjāka, Brāhmī* (*Bacopa monnieri*), grapes, white sandalwood, herbs of *Daśamūla*[47] groups and *Śankhapuṣpī* (*Convolvulus pluricaulis*). The drug is prepared as per the decoction method involving all the ingredients. This decoction gives immediate relief from *pralāpaka* (Delirium) type of *sannipātta* (Disease caused by the simultaneous vitiation of all the three *doṣas* viz, *Vāta*, *Pitta* and *Kapha*) fever.

सतगरवरतिक्तारेवताम्भोदतिक्ता नलदतुरगगन्धाभारतीहारहूराः ।
मलयजदशमूलीशङ्खपुष्पीसुपक्वाः प्रलपनमपहन्युः पानतो नातिदूरात् ।। [48]

For nasal therapy of *sannipātta jvara* of *bhugnanetra* variety (fever accompanied by distortion of the eyes), a preparation in made comprising *Aśvagandhā*, rock salt, *Vacā*, abstract of *Madhūka*, black pepper, *Pippala*, dried ginger and garlic. These items are pulverized with urine of goat. This decoction is helpful in checking *sannipātta jvara* of *bhugnanetra* variety-

तुरङ्गगन्धालवणोग्रगन्धामधूकसारोषणमागधीभिः बस्ताम्बुशुण्ठीलशुनान्विताभिर्नस्यं कृशं भुग्नदृशं करोति ।। [49]

There is an important preparation-"*Aśvagandhādikvātha*" described in *Bhaiṣajya Ratnāvalī*. This is a decoction-based formula. Equal parts of roots *Aśvagandhā*, *Śatāvarī*, *Guḍūcī*, *Daśamūla* herbs, *Atibalā* (country mallow), *Aḍuṣā* (*Justicia adhatoda*), *Puṣkara* (*Inula racemosa*) and *Ativiṣā* (*Aconitum heterophyllum*) are taken and coarsely powdered. *Kvātha* (Decoction) should be prepared through method described in *Āyurvedic* texts. This *Kvātha* is very effective in checking tuberculosis-

अश्वगन्धाऽमृताभीरुदशमूलीबलावृषाः । पुष्करातिविषे हन्ति क्षयं क्षीररसाशिनः ।। [50]

---

47 Daśamūla is a combination of ten herb roots. The group consists of the following plants: *Bilva, Kāśmarya, Tarkārī, Pāṭalā* (*Bignonia suaveolens*), *Ṭiṅkuṭa, Śālaparṇī* (*Desmodium gangeticum*), *Pṛśniparṇī (Uraria picta), Bṛhatī* (*Solanum violaceum*), *Kaṇṭkakarī* (*Solanum xanthocarpum*) and *Gokṣura*

48. *Ibid,* 5/281

49 *Ibid,*5/284

50 *Ibid,*14/20

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

बलाऽश्वगन्धा श्रीपर्णी बहुपुत्री पुनर्नवा । पयसा नित्यमभ्यस्ताः शमयन्ति क्षतक्षयम् ।।[51]

Balādicūrṇa is also helpful in providing relief from tuberculosis. *Aśvagandhā* is an important ingredient for this *Cūrṇa*. Roots of *Balā*, *Aśvagandhā*, fruits of *Śṛīparṇī*, *Śatāvarī* and *Punarnavā* are taken and churned into fine powder and consumed with milk in proper dose-

Aśvagandhādyariṣṭa is yet another important preparation described in *Bhaiṣajya Ratnāvalī*. For preparing *Aśvagandhādyariṣṭa* 2.335 kg. measure of the *Aśvagandhā*, 1 kg. measure of the *Muṣalī* (*Curculigo orchioides*), 500 gm. measure each of the *Manjiṣṭhā* (*Rubia cordifolia*), *Harītakī* (*Terminalia chebula*), turmeric, *Dāru Haridrā* (*Berberis aristata*), *Mustaka* (*Cyperus rotundus*), *Rāsnā* (*Pluchea lanceolata*), *Vidārīkanda* (*Pueraria tuberosa*), the barks of *Arjuna* (*Terminalia arjuna*) tree, *Madhuka* and the roots of *Tṛivṛit* (*Operculina turpethum*), 375 gm. measure each of the white *Sārivā* (*Hemidesmus indicus*), black *Sārivā*, white sandalwood, red sandalwood, *Vacā* (*Acorus calamus*) and the roots of *Citraka* (*Plumbago zeylanica*) are obtained. All of these coarsely pounded through a hand mortar and powder the mixture into water measuring 96 litres kept in some earthen pot. Mixture is boiled and cooked till it reduces to one-twelfth of the original amount. The decoction is strained and the syrup is allowed to cool down. Subsequently, to the syrup are added 190 gm. powder of the *Dhātakī* (*Woodfordia fruticosa*) flowers, honey measuring about 15 kg., the powder of *Vyoṣa* (dried ginger, black pepper and pepper) measuring 30 gm each of the herbs., 60 gm. each of the powder of *Tṛijātaka* herbs (cardamom, cinnamon bark and cassia), *Priyaṅgu* (190 gm.) and the powder of *Nāgakeśara* (*Mesua ferrea*) measuring 90 gm. The compound is kept inside an well dried earthen pitcher ointmented with *Ghṛta*. The lid of this pitcher should be closed and the drug should remain kept therein for no less than one month. After that the drug should be filtered through a clean cloth and put into different bottles. This drug named *Aśvagandhādyariṣṭa* should be taken with equal amount of water after the meals. This preparation controls the diseases like the *mūrcchā (Mūrcchā is an indisposition characterised by the transient loss of conciousness)*, epilepsy, consumption, dementia, thinness of the body, six kinds of the piles, loss of appetite and deranged *Vāta*, etc.[52]

51. *Ibid*, 14/22

52 *Ibid*, 21/15-21

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Aśvagandhādighṛta is also an important preparation. Cow *ghṛta* measuring about one litre and decoction of *Aśvagandhā* four times the quantity of *ghṛta* is taken. *Kalka* of *Aśvagandhā* measuring about 250 ml. and cow milk measuring about four litres is also taken. All of them are cooked thoroughly. *Ghṛta* thus prepared is effective in checking all types of *Vāta* diseases. It develops fat in the body and equips the users with great aphrodisiac power-

अश्वगन्धाकषाये च कल्के क्षीरं चतुर्गुणम् । घृतंपक्वन्तु वातघ्नं वृष्यं मांसविवर्द्धनम् ।।[53]

Aśvagangātaila is very beneficial in cases of *Vāta roga*, *Rakta-pitta* (Haemorrhagic diseases. It is an indisposition in which bleeding occurs from upper channels like nose, mouth etc. or from lower channels like anus, urinary passage, female genital organ etc.) and *Rakta pradara* (excessive uterine bleeding during menses occurring at irregular interval). This promotes health, strength and physical strength of those who work hard. This is capable to promote the aphrodisiac power. It checks *śukra* (Semen), *yoni* (Vagina) and *vraṇa* (Wound) *doṣa*. If an impotent person drinks, uses or goes through *anuvāsana basti* (Enema with medicated oil or ghee or other fatty substances) involving this medicinal oil, he can successfully fecundate his partner.[54]

Aśvagandhā is an important ingredient for *Ajagandhādilepa*. A *kalka* (A kind of tenacious paste) of *Ajagandhā*, *Aśvagandhā*, *Kāla*, *Sarala*, *Ekeśika* and *Śṛīngī* (all in equal parts) is prepared. Application of this *Kalka* cures *kaphaja* type of edema in an ulcer-

अजगन्धाऽश्वगन्धा च काला सरलया सह । एकेशिकाऽजशृङ्गी च प्रलेपः श्लेष्मशोथहा ।।[55]

Aśvagandhādilepa is prepared taking equal parts of *Aśvagandhā*, *Kaṭukī* (*Picrorhiza kurrooa*), *Lodhra* (*Symplocos racemosa*), *Kaṭphala* (*Myrica nagi*), *Madhuyaṣṭī* (*Glycyrrhiza glabra*), *Manjiṣṭhā* and flowers of *Dhātakī*. They are grounded with water and *lepa* (Paste) is prepared. This helps in properly suppressing the *vraṇa* (Ulcer)-

---

53 Ibid, 26/220
54. Ibid, 26/284-288
55 Ibid, 47/10

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

अश्वगन्धारुहालोध्रं कट्फलं मधुयष्टिका । समङ्गाधातकीपुष्पं परमं व्रणरोपणम् ॥ [56]

Consuming powder of *Aśvagandhā* (5 gm.) with milk (250 ml.), *ghṛita* (10 gm), oil (10 ml.) and lukewarm water for fifteen days, significantly develops a lean and thin body in the same way as small paddy plants quickly grow from soil-

पीताऽश्वगन्धा पयसाऽर्द्धमासं घृतेन तैलेन सुखाम्बुना वा ।
कृशस्य पुष्टि वपुषो विधत्ते बालस्य सस्यस्य यथाऽम्बुवृष्टिः ॥ [57]

Rājamārtaṇḍa

One who takes powder of *Aśvagandhā* root in late winter mixed with honey and ghee along with milk regains youthfulness even if old-

शिशिरे योऽश्वगन्धायाः कन्दपूर्णं पलोन्मितम् । मासमत्ति समध्वाज्यं स वृद्धोऽपि भवेद्युवा ॥ [58]

Vṛndamādhava

The paste prepared from powder of *Aśvagandhā, Pippalī* and *Śarkarā* mixed with honey and ghee alleviates consumption.[59]

Ghee is cooked with decoction and paste of *Aśvagandhā* along with four times milk. This *Aśvagandhā ghṛta* pacifies *Vāta* and promotes semen and muscles-

अश्वगन्धाकषायेण कल्कैः क्षीरं चतुर्गुणम् । घृतं पक्वं तु वातघ्नं वृष्यं मांसविवर्धनम् ॥[60]

Milk processed with *Aśvagandhā* and added with milk should be taken by the woman in proper time. It helps conception-

क्वाथेन हयगन्धायाः साधितं सघृतं पयः । ऋतुस्नाताऽबला पीत्वा गर्भं धत्ते न संशयः॥ [61]

Ghee is cooked with one fourth paste of *Aśvagandhā* and ten times milk. It promotes development of body and is useful in emaciated children-

पादकल्केऽश्वगन्धायाः क्षीरे दशगुणे पचेत् । घृतं पेयं कुमाराणां पुष्टिकृद् बलवर्धम् ॥ [62]

56. *Ibid*, 47/46
57. *Ibid*, 73/10
58. *Rājamāttaṇḍa*-33/11
59. *Vṛndamādhava*-10/9
60. *Ibid*, 22/73
61. *Ibid*, 14/10
62 *Ibid*, 67/9

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Cakradatta

Devadāru, Śobhāñjana (*Moringa oleifera*) and *Apāmārga* or *Aśvagandhā* pounded with cow's urine, if taken, alleviates severe *udararoga* (stomach-ache), worms and oedema-

देवद्रुमं शिग्रुमयूरकञ्च गोमूत्रपिष्टामथवाऽश्वगन्धाम् । पीत्वाशु हन्यादुदरं प्रवृद्धं कृमीन् सशोथानुरदरञ्च दूष्यम् ॥[63]

Bangasena

The powder of *Aśvagandhā* mixed with sugar and taken with ghee alleviates insomnia and brings sleep quickly-

चूर्णं हयगन्धाया: सितया सहितञ्च सर्पिषा लीढम् । विदधाति नष्टनिद्रे निद्रामाश्वेव सिद्धमिदम् ॥[64]

The paste of *Aśvagandhā* and *Bibhītaka* mixed with jaggery and taken with tepid water alleviates *Vāta* located in heart-

पिबेदुष्णाम्भसा पिष्टं साश्वगन्धं बिभीतकम् । गुडयुक्तं प्रयत्नेन हृदयानिलनाशनम् ॥[65]

Vaidyamanoramā

One affected with accidental wound should lick the powder of *Aśvagandhā* with jaggery or ghee or should take with milk. It also acts as *Rasāyana*-

अश्वगन्धारजो लिह्याद्गुडेन हविषाऽथवा । पयसा वा पिबेच्छस्त्रक्षतक्षीणो रसायनम् ॥[66]

Siddhabheṣajamaṇimālā

Decoction of *Aśvagandhā* removes suppression of urine and promotes urination-

मूत्रं क्वाथोऽश्वगन्धाया द्राक् प्रवर्तयतेतराम् । सेतुभङ्गस्तटाकस्य प्रवाहं पयसामिव ॥[67]

Aśvagandhā in Treatment of Trees

Covering the tree, feeding it with oilcake, sprinkling with goat's urine at the root, and sprinkling water mixed with *Kulmaṣaka*, goat dung, bark of *Āmra* (*Mangifera indica*) tree and *Aśvagandhā* is highly useful in treating wind related disorders of trees-

63 *Cakradatta*-37/48
64 *Bangsena-Jaladoṣa*/13
65 *Ibid, Vātavyādhi*
66 *Vaidyamanoramā*-4/2
67 *Siddhabheṣajamaṇimālā*-4/541

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

आच्छादनं तैलखलिप्रदानं मूले द्रुमाणामजमूत्रसेकः । कुल्माषकच्छागपुरीषचूतत्वगश्वगन्धाजलसेक इष्ट : ॥[68]

Sprinkling with decoction prepared with *Rāsna, Aśvagandhā, Pavanāri, Nāga* (*Couroupita guianensis*), and *Kaṇā* (*Piper longum*) or with water mixed with *Śatapuṣpikā* can cure the wind disease in a tree, even in its advanced stage-

राश्नाश्वगन्धापवनारिनागकणाकषायेण कृतो हि सेकः । सवातिकद्रौ शतपुष्पिकायास्तोयेन वातं प्रबलं जयेत ॥[69]

Conclusion

Hence, there is no exaggeration in stating that *Aśvagandhā* has numerous medicinal properties. It makes one energetic, promotes semen and muscles. It is helpful in boosting immune system of body. This herb is used in treating cold and cough. It is helpful in treating diseases caused due to imbalance of *Vāta* and *Kapha* apart from reducing oedema and pain. It is also helpful in treating ear related problems, stomach-ache and alleviating insomnia.

It is also removes suppression of urine and promotes urination. This herb is also used in treatment of diseases of trees that are caused due to wind disorders.

Bibliography

Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdayam (Tr.), Murthy K.R. Srikantha, Chowkhamba Krishnadas Academy, Varanasi, 2009

Bhaiṣajya Ratnāvalī (Trans.), Lochan Kanjiv, Choukhamba Sanskrit Bhavan, Varanasi, 2006

Bhāvaprakāśa Nighaṇṭu (Ed.), Pandey G.S., Chaukhamba Bharati Academy, Varanasi, 1999

Cakradatta (Trans.), Sharma P.V., Chaukhamba Orientalia, Varanasi, 1998

Caraka Saṃhitā (Ed.), Sharma P.V., Chaukhamba Orientalia, Varanasi, 2008

CSIR, *The Wealth of India, Raw Materials*, Vol. VI, p. 265, CSIR, New Delhi, 1962

Dwivedi, D. V., *Aśvattha (Ficus religiosa Linn).in Indian Tradition*, Shri Krishna Sahitya Sadan, 2015

Dwivedi, D. V., *Bilva in Indian Tradition*, IJHS, 47.1 (2012): 37-62

Dwivedi, D. V., *Importance of Plants as Depicted in Purāṇās*, IJHS, 52.3 (2017): 251-274

---

68. *Vishvavallabha*-8/12

69. *Ibid*, 8/14

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Dwivedi, D. V., *Nyagrodha Vṛkṣa in Indian Tradition*, Shri Krishna Sahitya Sadan, Delhi, 2013

Dwivedi, D. V., *Plant Diseases and their treatment in Sanskrit Literature*, IJHS, 49.3 (2014): 239-250

Dwivedi, D. V., *Sanskrit Sāhitya me Paryāvaraṇa Cetanā*, Shri Krishna Sahitya Sadan, Delhi 2013

Hegde Prakash L. and Harini A, *A Text Book of Dravyaguṇa Vijñāna* (Volume II), Chaukhamba Publications, New Delhi, 2014

Lochan Dr. Kanjiv and Byadgi Dr. P.S., Encyclopedic Dictionary of Ayurveda, Chaukhambha Publications, New Delhi, 2015

Madanapālanighaṇṭu (Ed.), Tripathi Hariharprasad, Chaukhambha Krishnadas Academy, Varanasi, 2009

NISCAIR, *The Wealth of India, First Supplement Series*, Vol. 4, p. 90, NISCAIR, CSIR, New Delhi, 2003

Pandey G., *Dravyaguṇa Vijñāna* (Vol. 1), p. 131, Chowkhamba Krishnadas Academy, Varanasi, 2004

Pandey G., *Advances in Indian Medicine and Herbals*, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 2007

Paranjpe Dr. Prakash, *Indian Medicinal Plants*, Chaukhamba Sanskrit Pratishthan, Delhi, 2005

Rājanighaṇṭu of Pandit Narhari (*Comm.*), Tripathi Indradeva, Chowkhamba Krishnadas Academy, Varanasi, 2006

Sharma PV, *Classical Uses of Medicinal Plants*, Chaukhambha Visvabharti, Varanasi, 2004

Sharma PV, *Nāmarūpajñānam,* Satya Priya Prakashan, Varanasi, 2000

Siddhabhaiṣajyamaṇimālā (Ed.), Bhatt KR, Chaukhamba Krishnadas Academy, Varanasi, 2008

Suśruta Saṃhitā (Ed.), Singhal GD, Chaukhamba Sanskrit Pratishthan, Delhi, 2007

The Agni Mahāpurāṇam (Ed.),Kumar Pushpendra,Eastern Book Linkers,Delhi, 2006

The Garuḍa Mahāpurāṇam (Ed.), Kumar Pushpendra, Eastern Book Linkers, Delhi, 2006

Vaidya Manorama, Kalidasa Vaidya, Vaidya Jadavji Ticumbji Acharya Publishers, Bombay,1924

Vangsena Saṃhitā (Tr.), Saxena Nirmal Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 2004

Vishvavallabha (Dear to the World: The Science of Plant Life), Sadhale Nalini (Tr.), Asian Agri-History Foundation, Secunderabad, 1996

Vṛndamādhava (Ed. & Tr.), Tewari Premvati and Kumari Asha, Chaukhambha Bharati Academy, Varanasi, 2006

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Subscription Rates for Journal:
Annual: (From Vol. 61 onwards)

India: ₹ 150/-

Foreign Countries: $ 50

Subscription is always payable in advance. No subscription will be accepted for less than a year. Subscription fee is to be transferred in the account of the **Oriental Institute**, the details are:

Bank : **Bank of Baroda** (Current Account at Dandia Bazar Branch, Vadodara)

Account No. : 05780200000213

Branch Code : BARB0DANDIA (Fifth Character is Zero)

Swift Code : BARBINBBRM

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

FETOTOMY IN ANCIENT INDIAN TEXTS

K. G. Sheshadri*

Abstract: Ancient Indians had a keen sense of observation of Fauna that has been widely described in our literature. Fetotomy is a branch of veterinary science dealing with pregnancy developments that may take place with operations of removal of foetus such as when the foetus coming out of abdomen suffers constriction or be dead in the womb. Old Arabic literature is also rich in the descriptions of such cases of Fetotomy involving horses. Some glimpses of knowledge of pregnancy and Fetotomy regarding animals is evident from Vedic literature but not reflected in the epics and Purāṇas. Such knowledge is also discussed in some Post-Vedic texts. A detailed treatment of Fetotomy is found in ancient Indian Veterinary treatises dealing with elephants, horses, cows and so on. However such cases of Fetotomy have been not documented for the other animals well known to the ancient Indians. The available descriptions of Fetotomy deal on the causes, characteristics of the animal and details of the Foetus removal if it is dead. The present paper deals on these aspects of Fetotomy as gleaned from these early ancient Indian texts and Indian veterinary treatises.

Key Words: Cows, Elephants, Fetotomy, Foetus, Horses, Pregnancy, Uterus, Vedic, Veterinary

Introduction

Ancient Indians had a keen observation of animals and birds that they recorded their characteristics, behaviour and omens in the vast amount of literature that has come down to us. Even more interesting is the description of the pregnancy, foetus characteristics and so on in case of important animals such as elephants, camels,

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO. 124, Vol. 69, 2020, pp. 49-64.

* R.M.V Clusters, Phase-2, Block-2, 5th Floor, Flat No. 503, Devinagar, Lottegollahalli, Bangalore – 560094. Ph. No: - +91-80-23415639 (Res), Email: kg_sheshadri@yahoo.com / kg.shesh@gmail.com

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

horses, cows and so on. Many animals that reproduce do so by natural birth or sometimes with difficult labour. In extreme cases, it may lead to Caesarean sections to bring out the foetus. However, there are cases wherein the time for delivery is running out and by the time the foetus is coming out of the abdomen, it may suffer constriction or be dead within the womb. The animal then struggles with the dead foetus within the womb and must be removed carefully without causing physical and mental afflictions to the animal. Fetotomy is the branch of veterinary science that deals with such operations.

Fetotomy involves the dissection of a dead foetus in uterus. It is applicable particularly to cows because of the size of the uterus and the opportunity to introduce instruments to the full depth of the foetus. There are basically two kinds -*Percutaneous Fetotomy* wherein the foetus is dissected through the skin using first a knife to open the skin followed by a fetotome. It is faster than a subcutaneous approach but offers more risk to the uterine wall. Secondly is the *Subcutaneous Fetotomy* wherein the foetus is entered between the first ribs and the thoracic cage destroyed within the skin. The foetus is extracted when its mass has been reduced by this internal demolition and removal. Fetotomy also involves certain complexities when there are cases of twin births, the foetuses of both interlocking each other and making vaginal delivery impossible[1]. In certain other cases, the dead foetus within the animal may cause severe wounds in the vaginal regions and the animal has to undergo several surgical procedures for removal of the foetus sometimes causing the death of the animal if the surgery is unsuccessful. Post Fetotomy procedures involve in re-examining the condition of the health of the animal, its recovery of normal estrous cycles. In some cases the animal may suffer from a case called Dystocia wherein there is a malposture of Foetal extremities, abnormal entry of the foetus into the pelvis of the mother, longevity of the birth canal in some animals such as horses, absence of foetal fluid in birth canal and so on[2]. All these different cases are to be well studied. Fertility and obstetrics related

---

1. Singh, Navdeep., Ghuman, S.P.S., Urga, B., and Gandotra, V. K, "*Vaginal Delivery of Interlocked Twins in a Dairy Cow*", Indian Veterinary Journal, Dec 2013, Vol. 90 (12), pp. 68-69.
2. Al-Dahash S.Y. A., Raju K.G.S, Gaja A. O. and Mariol N. M, "*Fetotomy a Resolution to Dystocia in a Mare- A Case Report*", Therio Genology Insight, April 2013, Vol. 3(1), pp.17-20.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

diseases have many complexities. D.E. Noakes mentions about many such features in his excellent book on the subject[3]. These include poor conception rates, delayed calving, early embryonic death, late embryonic death, foetal death or mummification, abortion, foetal maceration (a separation of the skin from head and trunk occurs giving a bubble like appearance), Cervico-vaginal prolapse (Vaginal prolapse is a condition in which the vagina or structures near it begin to prolapse or fall out of normal position), Uterine torsion, Uterine rupture, Dystocia, Vulval or Vaginal stricture, abnormalities of foetus, Acute Metritis (enlarged uterus and a watery red-brown fluid to viscous off-white purulent uterine discharge with a bad smell) and so on with respect to cattle. Some of these have been discussed elaborately in the text and not elaborated in the present context. Old Arabic Literature also is rich in descriptions of fetotomy procedures. A. E. A. Mohammed mentions about caesarean operation for sectioning of dead foetus in abdomen of horse, sectioning of foetus into two or more parts within uterus and vagina[4]. If the obstetrician is certain that foetus can be delivered by limited Fetotomy, then the removal of first Forelimb and its draw-back is mentioned with cutting of head and neck.

Recently some studies on fetotomy aspects of animals such as horse, cattle, buffaloes and elephants have been reported in India. A brief survey of some of these studies is reported so as to appreciate such observations in modern times. Among them, Scoliosis is a condition with lateral curvature of fetal spine rather than being a straight line. Multiple ankylosis is a congenital disorder characterized by multiple joint contractures. A case of fetotomy operation for the successful vaginal delivery of Scoliotic-ankylosed foetus in a cow has been discussed[5]. A similar case in

---

3. Noakes, D. E., "*Fertility and Obstetrics in Cattle*", 2nd ed., Library of Veterinary Practice, Blackwell Science Publishers, Iowa State University Press, Ames, Iowa, 1997.
4. Mohammed., Adel Elsayed Ahmed., "*Horse's Medicine in Ancient Arabic Heritage*", Retrieved from Website- www.scholar.cu.edu. pp. 1-8, Figs. 1-6.
5. Singh, Navdeep., Ghuman, S. P. S., Singla, V. K., Honparkhe, M, "*Partial Fetotomy for Delivery of a Scoliotic-Ankylosed Foetus in Cow*", Indian Journal of Animal Reproduction, Vol. 33, Dec 2012, No. 2, pp. 92-93.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

buffaloes has also been recorded[6]. Conditions of Dystocia and post-parturient diseases are uncommon in mares. However, when they do occur, they may carry a guarded prognosis for life or future fertility in affected mares. Prompt, sound clinical management of dystocia, retained placenta, and other post-parturient disorders can preserve the breeding potential of valuable mares. Uterine prolapse in equines is considered to be rather infrequent, with most of the isolated cases reported to occur during the immediate postpartum. Some cases of partial fetotomy in mares have been also reported in recent literature[7].

In case of elephants, the complexities are more compared to other animals because of its size. Elephants have a long gestation period of around 22 months and produce calves weighing 95–115 kg at birth. The reproductive tract is proportionately larger and longer than other mammals. In elephants the vestibule, which is a tubular structure approximately four feet in length, runs vertically from the vulval orifice situated between the hind legs, to below the rectum, where it makes a ninety degree turn inward to join the vagina proper. Vestibulotomy is an option provided the foetus is present in the vestibule. Vaginal vestibulotomy has been performed in standing and recumbent positions. A case of such operation has been reported in literature[8]. Foetal retention in elephants is not uncommon and when the calf is retained the clinician simply must wait until the elephant expels the foetus, since surgical options are limited in an adult elephant. A case of such procedures of fetotomy of a retained full-term foetus in an Asian elephant (*Elephas maximus*) that survived the procedure and resumed normal estrous cycles is reported in literature[9].

---

6. Singh, Vipin., Patel, Akhil., Yadav, Chhote Lal., Gupta, Rishi Kumar., Saxena, Atul., "*Successful Management of Dystocia due to Ankylosed Foetal Monster through Fetotomy in a Buffalo*", Indian Journal of Veterinary Science and Biotechnology, Vol. 12, No.3, 2017, pp. 141-142.
7. Hadiya, K. K., Parmar, J. J., Dhami, A. J., Patel, J. A., Shah, A. I., "*Management of Dystocia Followed by Uterine Prolapse in Mares – A Report of Two Cases*", Indian Journal of Animal Reproduction, Vol. 36, No. 1, June 2015, pp. 56-59.
8. Chandrapuria, V. P., Shrivastava, A. B., Agrawal, Sanjay., Agarwal, Sandeep., "*Vaginal Vestibulotomy in an Asian Elephant*", Gajah – Journal of Asian Specialist Elephant Group, Sri Lanka, Vol. 40, 2014, pp. 39-41.
9. Schaftenaar W., "*Delayed Postpartum Fetotomy in an Asian Elephant (Elephas maximus)*", Journal of Zoological Wildlife Medicine, Vol.44, No.1, March 2013, pp.130-135.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Glimpses of Knowledge of Pregnancy and Fetotomy in Vedic Literature

Vedic texts offer some glimpses of pregnancy and fetotomy in animals that portray ancient sages were aware of this knowledge. Sage Tvaṣṭā Garbhakartā, sage of *Ṛgveda*[10] RV [10.184] is said to have caused pregnancy in animals according to the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* suggesting that he was a veterinary physician. The *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*[11] MS [3.7.5] states that the womb of animals are not likely to be miscarried.

तस्मात् पशूनां गर्भा अप्रपादुकाः ।

The *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*[12] [20.9] states that animals (calves) are born with the front portion first –

तस्मात् पुरस्तात् प्रत्यङ् पशुर्जायते ।

The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*[13] (TS) [5.2.11.1] states that the skin of the horse is pierced with needles –

अश्वस्य वाजिनस्त्वचि सूचीभिः शिम्यन्तु त्वा ।

The text TS [5.2.12.1] also states that -

कस्त्वा छ्यति कस्त्वा विशास्ति कस्ते गात्राणि शिम्यति कू उ ते शमिता कविः ॥

'Who dissects thee ? Who does divide thee ? Who does pierce your limbs ? Who is the wise (expert) dissector ?'

Details of method of dissection are also given extensively in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (AB)[14]. The AB [7.31.1] states –

---

10. Arya, Ravi Prakash, Joshi, K. L., *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā* (RV), With English Translation according to H. H. Wilson and Sāyaṇācārya *Bhāṣya*, Vols. I-IV, Parimal Publications, New Delhi 2005.
11. Dharmadhikari, T. N., Shastri, R. S., Jain, N. P., Bahulkar, S. S., *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā,* In : *Vedic Texts - A Revision*, Prof. C. G. Kashikar Felicitation Volume, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 1990.
12. Satvalekar, Sripad Damodar, *Yajurvedīya Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*, Svadhyaya Mandal, Paradi, 1985.
13. Kashyap, R. L., *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (TS) , Sri Aurobindo Kapali Shastry Institute of Vedic Culture, Bangalore, Vols. I-III, 2011.
14. Haug, Martin., Revised by Jain, S, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,* New Bharatiya Book Corporation, Delhi, 2003.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

तामुह प्रोच्यैवास्माल्लोकादुच्चक्रामत् तामुह गिरिजाय बाभ्रव्याया प्रोवाच । ततो हैनामेतदर्वाङ्मनुष्या अधीयतेऽधीयते ॥

'Some Divine being came to earth, taught this science of anatomy and dissection and disappeared. The first sage who learnt this science was Bābhravyā, son of Giri and he taught it to all who were qualified to learn.'

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[15] SB [8.2.4.18] states that the head of the animal is born first and the tail being the last –

शिरो हि प्रथमं जायमानस्य जायते पुच्छं ह्यन्ततो जायमानस्य जायते ।

Some Smṛtis also give minute details of knowledge about the pregnancy of cattle. Among them the *Parāśarasmṛti*[16] [IX.12-13] states –

पिण्डस्थे पादमेकं तु द्वौ पादौ गर्भसम्मिते । पादोनं व्रतमुद्दिष्टं हत्वा गर्भमचेतनम् ॥
पादेऽङ्गरोमवपनं द्विपादे श्मश्रुणोऽपि च त्रिपादे तु शिखा वर्जं सशिखं तु निपातने ॥

"If the foetus of cow is destroyed while it is in an amorphous state, one-fourth penance is prescribed for the sin that involves shaving of all hair over the limbs, when it has attained some distinct form, the penance is two quarters involving shaving of beard also, by destroying a foetus which has not yet developed its consciousness, the sinner must perform three quarters penance involving the shaving of all hair except the coronal lock while if one kills it after birth the penance includes the shaving of the coronal lock too".

Further the text [IX.15-16] adds that –

निष्पन्न सर्वगात्रस्तु दृश्यते वा सचेतनः अङ्गप्रत्यङ्गसम्पूर्णो द्विगुणं गोव्रतं चरेत् ॥

"If all members of a foetus are complete or if it be observed to have consciousness or fully developed in its limbs – large or small, then the sinner must perform twice the penance for killing a cow".

Interestingly the text mentions indirectly the use of instruments to draw out dead foetuses that indicates the knowledge of Fetotomy to ancient Indians. The

15. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* According to *Mādhyandina* Recension and *Bhāṣya* of Sāyaṇācārya and Harisvāmin, Vols. I-V, Nag Publishers, New Delhi, 1990.
16. Singh, Nag Sharan., *Parāśarasmṛti,* Vol. 2, In : "*Smṛtisandarbha - Collection of Dharmaśāstra Texts by Maharṣis*", Nag Publishers, New Delhi, 1988.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Parāśarasmṛti [IX.45] states –

यन्त्रिता गौश्चिकित्सार्थं मूढगर्भविमोचने यत्ने कृते विपद्येतप्रायश्चित्तं न विद्यते ॥

"In case of difficult parturition, if a cow has to be fastened (by means of instruments) for drawing foetuses out and the animal expires in spite of every care, there is no liability to perform a penance". The same verse is also repeated in the *Āpastambha Smṛti*[17] [I.32] also as –

यन्त्रिता गौश्चिकित्सार्थं मूढगर्भविमोचने यत्ने कृते विपत्तिश्चेत् प्रायश्चित्तं न विद्यते ॥

The *Śāntimayūkhā*[18] of Bhaṭṭa Nīlakaṇṭha, a medieval digest on pacificatory rituals quotes the views of Sage Nārada and Sage Garga on pregnancy of various animals. The same text quoting Sage Garga's views states –

दिवा प्रसूता वडवा श्रावणे च विशेषतेः । माघमासे बुधे चैव प्रसवेन्महिषी यदि ।

सिंहे गावः प्रसूयन्ते स्वामिनो मृत्युदायकाः । जंगमे स्थावरं जातं स्थावरे वाऽथ जंगमम् ।

तस्मिन् योनिविपर्य्यासे परचक्रागमे भवेत् । त्यागो विवासो दानं वाकृत्वाप्याशु शुभं लभेत् ।

वडवा हस्तिनी गोर्वा यदि युग्मं प्रसूयते । विजात्यं विकृतं वापि षड्भिर्मासैम्रियते वै ।

वियोनिषु च गच्छन्ति मैथुने देशनाशनं । अन्यत्र वेसरोत्पत्ते नृणां वा जातिमैथुनात् ॥

"A mare being pregnant at sunrise and especially in month of *Śrāvaṇa*, a female buffalo delivering in the month of *Māgha* and a cow that delivers in month of *Simha,* all these forebode death of owner. The cycle may be in the form of an inanimate object taking birth as an animate one or vice-versa (depending on its previous births). One must donate some objects or perform pacificatory rituals. A horse, elephant or cow that gives birth to twins, or that of another kind or one that is deformed, forebodes death of owner in six months. One that gives pair to one of each sex in the womb, forebodes destruction of the country. Likewise is the case for mules or humans".

This shows that ancient seers were aware of abnormal deliveries in cows and other animals that forebode evil omens for which pacificatory rituals were to be carried out.

---

17. Singh, Nag Sharan., *Ibid.*, *Āpastambhasmṛti,* Vol. 3.
18. Gharpure, J. R, The *Śāntimayūkhā* of Bhaṭṭa Nīlakaṇṭha, Vol. XXV, Collection of Hindu Law Texts, Bombay, 1924.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Knowledge of Pregnancy and Fetotomy in Post-Vedic Literature

The epics do not offer any glimpses of Fetotomy. Several Purāṇas like the *Garuḍapurāṇa* [19] [*Ācārakhaṇḍa, Nānā Auṣadha Prayoga Nirūpaṇaṁ*], the *Agnipurāṇa*[20] and the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*[21] devote a section to the diseases of elephants, horses and cattle. But they do not offer any detailed descriptions of pregnancy related complexities or fetotomy with regard to these animals. Some observations related to pregnancy of cattle have been noted in some Post-Vedic texts that has been discussed in literature[22].

The *Rājamārtāṇḍa*[23] (RM) of king Bhoja notes that cows can be made to conceive by application of a paste of *Lakṣmaṇā* roots (a herb – *Ipomoea sepiaria*) on the vagina of cow as mentioned in RM [XXXIV].

The '*Haramekhalā*'[24] a treatise on various subjects related to *Tantra, Prayogas, Āyurveda* and so on by Māhuka, son of Mādhava (9th c. A. D.) has a section dealing on cattle obstetrics. In case of a dead foetus if the cow stops giving milk, then in order to treat it quickly and allow it to give milk again, the text [IV.375] states -

पाषाणमपि विलिप्तमधुमुना योगेन विनिहितं पुरतः । लिहन्ती मृतवत्सापि रोहिणी झत्ति प्रस्नौति ॥

"Smearing a stone with honey and keeping it in front of the cow, the cow licks it in the case of the foetus being dead and gives milk again".

---

19. Shastri, J. L., *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, Vol. 13, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, New Delhi, 1979.
20. Joshi, K. L. (Ed.), Dutt, M. N. (translation), *Agni Purāṇa* - Text with Translation, Parimal Publications, Delhi, 2001.
21. Shah, Priyabala, *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa,* Text with English Translation, Vols. I-III, Parimal Publications, New Delhi, 2002.
22. Sheshadri, K. G., "*Obstetrics and Gynecological Conditions of Cattle in Ancient Indian Literature*", The Indian Cow Journal, Vol. 49, July-Sep. 2016, pp. 33-49.
23. Shastry, Uttam Vaidya Pammi Satyanarayana. *'Rājamārtāṇḍa'* (RM) of Bhoja, Chowkhambha Sanskrit Series No. 132, Varanasi, 2010.
24. Shastri, K. Sambashiva. *Haramekhalā* of Māhuka, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. CXXIV, Govt. Press, Trivandrum, 1936.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

The '*Lokopakāra*'[25] of Chāvuṇḍarāya II (1025 c. A. D.) also devotes a section to cattle disorders. It has several verses dealing on barrenness, dead foetus entangled in the uterus, retention of Chorion, rejection of newly delivered calf and so on giving their treatment elaborately. For the treatment of a dead calf entangled in uterus, it states that *Vākuci* (*Psoralia coryliforia*) seeds, *Til* seeds (*Sesamum indicum*), seeds of *Avarekkai* (Indian broad beans – *Lablab purpureus*), *Agasa* (*Sesbania grandiflora* or *Coronilla grandiflora* according to some) - all powdered together must be administered as stated in the text [IX.190].

Fetotomy in Ancient Indian Veterinary Texts

The information with regard to knowledge of pregnancy complexities and diseases as well as glimpses of fetotomy procedures in animals can be studied under the following heads-

Horses

The *Aśvaidyaka*[26] of Jayadatta dated to 15th c. A.D. a text devoted to treatment of horses, gives details of nursing of new born colt and the mother horse in the chapter titled *Sūtikopacāra.* It gives details of cleaning the uterus, removal of placenta, cleaning bowels by giving *Pratipāna* (counter drench), pacifying *Vātadoṣas* in abdominal cavity by administering ghee as stated in the text [X.6-10]. The '*Turaṅgaratnamālā*'[27] of Koneri Bāpu, a court poet of king Serfoji who ruled Tanjore, also has some excellent enema formulations to treat '*Garbhaśūla*' (pain in womb) of horse. It involves *Til* (*Sesamum indicum*) oil, cow's ghee, turmeric and

---

25. Shesha Iyengar, H., *Lokopakāra* of Chāvuṇḍarāya, Text in Kannada, Kannada Sahitya Parishat, Bangalore, 2002; Also Ayangarya, Valmiki S, "English translation of chapters from *Lokopakāra*" with commentaries from Nene, Y. L., Sadhale, Nalini., Dave, Shakuntala., Bhalerao, Umashashi., Asian Agri-History Foundation Bulletin No. 6, Secunderabad (AP), 2006.
26. Gupta, Umeshchandra, *Aśvavaidyaka* of Jayadatta, Bibliotheca Indica Vol.108, Compiled by Jayadatta Sūrī with an Appendix on Nakula's *Aśvacikitsā*, Asiatic Society, Kolkata. English translation by Nripendranath Majumdar, Indian Veterinary Journal, Vol. 15, No.7, 1886-87.
27. Rao, Sri.A. Krishnaswami Mahadik., '*Turaṅgaratnamālā*' of Koneri Bāpu, Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library Series No.241, Thanjavur, 1986.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

other herbs in various measures. About five different forms of enemas for spasmodic colic (*Kurkurī*) have been given by the text. These involve the use of tobacco leaves, chillies, garlic, honey, salt, pepper and different herbs all made into a decoction or given to chew based on the different forms of colic.

The '*Fāras Nāma-e-Rangīn*'[28] is a Persian text on horses and their diseases by Sa'ādat Yār Khān [1756-1835] and gives some interesting details of enema administration for horses. However, no elaborate procedures for removal of dead foetus in a mare are reported in these texts.

Elephants

Most texts attribute the initiation of elephantology to the Sage Pālakāpya[29]. *Maharshi* Pālakāpya's treatise titled the '*Hastyāyurveda*'[30] is an elaborate text dealing extensively with elephant diseases and their remedies. It runs to about 20,000 or more verses and is in the form of a discourse between king Romapāda and Sage Pālakāpya and divided into four sections named *Mahārogasthāna, Kṣudrarogasthāna, Śalyasthāna and Uttarasthāna.*

The *Hastyāyurveda* of *Maharṣi* Pālakāpya also deals with Fetotomy in the chapter titled '*Mūḍhagarbhāpanayanam*'. Sage Pālakāpya quotes one instance of rectal drug administration in such a case of Fetotomy in elephants that is very brief but interesting. Regarding the cause of dead foetus in the womb, the text *Śalyasthāna* [Chap.33, '*Mūḍhagarbhāpanayanam*'] says -

विषम शय्यान्यशनैर्व्याधिभिश्च क्षुधा तथा । अतियानातिभारद्वा ळङ्घनप्लवनादपि ॥

वातमूत्रपुरीषाणां धारणादभिघातनात् ॥ उपद्रवान्मनस्तापात्कुक्षौ गर्भी विपद्यते ॥

---

28. Phillott, Lieut. Colonel D. C. (Translation), "*Fāras Nāma-e-Rangīn by* Sa'ādat Yār Khān – The Book of the Horse by Rangin", The Bernard Quaritch Press, London, 1911.

29. Harbola, P. C., *Historical Perspective of Hastyāyurveda*, Section II, Chapter. 8, In: *Veterinary Science and Animal Husbandry in Ancient India*, Somavanshi, R., and Yadav M. P., (Eds), Indian Veterinary Research Institute, Izatnagar, U.P, 51 – 59, 2003.

30. Sharma, Pt. Shivadutta, *Hastyāyurveda* of *Maharṣi* Pālakāpya, Anandashram Sanskrit series No. 26, Poona, 1894.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

'By wrong or difficult sleeping postures or foods, disease, thirst or over travelling, or lifting heavy loads, jumping, swimming or controlling Urine, Faeces much or due to attacks or due to mental distress or afflictions to belly.'

The Sage says that due to it there will be smell in Urine, Faeces and breath. The elephant dislikes food and is mentally distressed. Regarding the Foetus removal the text *Śalyasthāna* [Chap.33, '*Mūḍhagarbhāpanayanam*'] says –

सर्पिषा कल्कमिश्रेण शाल्मल्या धन्वनस्य च ॥ दक्षिणं करमभ्यर्च्य योनिद्वारं च सर्वशः ॥ विश्वासयित्वा सर्वस्वं यन्त्रयित्वा च हस्तिनीम् ॥ प्रवेश्य हस्तं योनौ तु गर्भमार्गेण वा हरेत् ॥ ऋजुमार्गेण नाऽगच्छेत्तं तु शस्त्रेण निहरेत् ॥ छित्त्वा तथाऽऽनुपूर्व्येण तस्याङ्गानि पृथक् पृथक् ॥ अक्लीबो दारुणो भूत्वा त्वरमाणो जितेन्द्रियः ॥ सूतिकारक्षणार्थं तु निःशेषं निहरित्तु तम् ॥

"Using a decoction of clarified butter, *śāli* rice, *Dhanvana*- a plant [*Grewia tilifolia, Vahl.*], one must first worship the right portion of trunk and also genital openings. Slowly instilling confidence in elephant and slowly injecting one's hand into the womb of the elephant one must pull out the dead foetus. If it cannot be removed from the Normal way, one must use instruments, slowly allowing the excision of obstructing parts, impotent, cruelly or hurriedly one must stitch the part to protect it and removing the others."

Several other features of pregnancy and other related diseases in elephants have been discussed in recent literature[31].

Cattle

Likewise an old Telugu palm leaf manuscript of unknown date titled *Sahadeva Paśu Āyurveda* of Naranārya based on the Sanskrit text of Sahadeva, the *Pāṇḍava,* also has some details on the pregnancy diseases of cattle[32]. If the cattle suffer, from abortion and the dead foetus is not expelled out, then the cattle is administered mixture of ground leaf juice of cotton, leaf juice of *Psoralea coryfolia Linn.*, powder

---

31. Sheshadri, K. G., "*Obstetrics and Pregnancy Conditions of Asian Elephants in Ancient Indian Literature*", Tattvadīpa – (Journal of Academy of Sanskrit Research, Melkote), Vol. XXIII, January – December 2017, pp. 124-150, 2017.
32. Prasad., Goli Penchala, Narayana, Ala., "*Ayurvedic Treatment for Cattle with Special Reference to Sahadeva Paśu Āyurveda*", Journal of Indian Medical Heritage, Vol. 41, Secunderabad, pp. 214, 2011.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

bark of *Ficus glomerata Roxb.*, powder of black pepper, leaf juice of watermelon along with seasame oil in order to expel the dead foetus.

Birds and Other Animals

Since the ancient Indians revered much other animals like the lion, tiger, other animals and birds, there must have been other treatises wherein fetotomy treatments for these animals were also dealt. However the existing veterinary treatises do not have any information on these aspects.

Similar to the cases of dead foetus in animals, there are likely cases of dead embryos in bird eggs. However, such cases have not been dealt in any ancient Indian texts. But interestingly one finds that surgeries involving opening of stomach of birds was known to ancient Indians. This knowledge must have been transmitted to the Arabs and Persians. The support for this view comes from a description of opening the stomach of a hawk in the '*Bājnāma yi nāṣirī*'[33] of Husām'd-dawlah Taymūr Mīrzā dated to 1868 c. A. D. which is a work on falconry and has extensive information on treatment of diseases of birds and other information related to them. If a casting of a bone, feathers, wool or any such item get stuck in the hawk's stomach, the text describes at length the procedures for operating the bird by slitting the skin, removing the item, stitching the parts as well as post-operative medications. A similar operation in cases of kicks by some animal or bird on the stomach of the hawk or injury to the stomach portion due to ill-judged stooping and violent contact with the ground is described. Though these descriptions do not involve any fetotomy procedures, one can still appreciate that the knowledge of operating the stomach and stitching the parts was known similar to the descriptions given in Sage Pālakāpya's text.

Fetotomy in Modern Indian Literature

Some contributions to Fetotomy are also evident in recent literature. Descriptions of the obstetrics of cattle have been also made in the early part of 19th c. A. D. Of these a text titled '*Paśucikitsā*'[34] in Hindi mentions about various pregnancy related

33. Phillott, Lieut. Colonel D. C. (Translation), "*Bājnāma yi nāṣirī*' of Husām'd-dawlah Taymūr Mīrzā - A Persian treatise on Falconry", The Bernard Quaritch Press, London, 1908.
34. Varma, Ragho Prasad., '*Paśucikitsā*' - Hindi text, Published by Kisan Hitakari Pustakamala., Chapra, Bihar, 1938.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

disorders of cattle giving their symptoms and treatment. These include Prolapsus Uteri (*Baccedānī kā bāhar nikalanā* – Uterus portion hanging out sometimes thus sometimes preventing the birth of calf), Barreness (*Bājhapan*), Flow from uterus with premature expulsion of foetus (*Garbhasrāva*), pre-pregnancy and post-pregnancy pain (*Prasava - Prasavottara pīḍā*), Retroversion of uterus (*Garbhāśaya Bhraṁśa*), Abortion (*Garbhapāta*), Menstrual disorders (*Bachiyā yā gāyakā Garma na honā*).

Even as early as the 1930s, certain books on treatments of cattle were written. One such author namely Yejella Śrī Rāmulu Chaudhari was a famous Ayurvedic veterinarian who lived in Guntur district, Andhra Pradesh and wrote several books on animals[35]. His texts like '*Anubhava Paśuvaidyacintāmaṇi*', '*Vatsabhṛtyamu*' and '*Paśuvaidyacintāmaṇi*' deal on treatment of cattle especially of gastro-intestinal diseases, post-partum diseases, pregnancy care, care of calves, diseases of calves and so on dealing giving local Telugu dialectic names and allopathic equivalents, external pastes, ointments and internal medications. The text '*Anubhava Paśuvaidyacintāmaṇi*'[36] is interesting as it devotes a complete section to obstetrics of cows [Chap. 7]. This section deals on the description of Uterus and Vulva, the seed (or embryo), development of foetus and its growth in various periods. The text also deals on various diseases of the belly with their treatment and also has a mention of certain enemas given to cattle. Certain special cases of birth of calves are also dealt. These include the expulsion of calf with either the head coming out first, or the hind legs, or the fore legs or the tail coming out first. *Yejella* Śrī Rāmulu Chaudhari also discusses about the case of a calf that is deformed and having two heads (*Reṇḍutalalugaladūḍa* in Telugu) that appears out of the vagina giving the treatment also.

Fetotomy and pregnancy care in animals is also found in the folk veterinary traditions all over the country. The *Chiru* tribes, one of the Kuki Scheduled tribes

---

35. Prasad., Goli Penchala, Swamy, R. K., "*Contribution of Yejella Śrī Rāmulu Chaudhari to Ayurvedic Veterinary Medicine – A Biographical Research Study*", Ayushdhara – International Journal of Research in AYUSH and allied systems", Vol. 2, No. 4, July – August 2015, pp. 207-216.

36. *Yejella Śrī Rāmulu Chaudhari*, '*Anubhava Paśuvaidyacintāmaṇi*' –Telugu text, The Modern Publishers, Tenali, Andhra Pradesh, 1945.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

of Manipur speak of '*Anai rubu Chobou*' affecting buffaloes and cows. In this disease, the placenta remains inside the womb after delivery of the calf. It is treated by giving fresh leaves of *Saccharum officinarum L., Ficus racemosa L., Bambusa tulda Roxb., Sanneibi* or other decoctions[37]. Tribes of South East Rajasthan give a mixture of honey, juice of roots of *Citrullus colocynthis*, mustard oil which is applied internally for easy opening of Uterus during delivery[38]. There do exist folk veterinary medicines for several pregnancy diseases of livestock among the tribals of Uttar Pradesh especially those of the Bareilly district[39] and Sitapur districts[40]. These diseases include those of prolongation of expulsion of placenta, retention of placenta, prolapsed uterus, hanging of placenta, the remaining of placenta and umbilical cord inside the mother's body after child birth, discharge of vaginal fluid with protrusion of placenta and umbilical cord, swelling of vagina, placenta protrusion outside along with or without umbilical chord during pregnancy much before delivery time, post-pregnancy ailments and so on. *Raikas* of Marwar, who are pastoral nomads belonging to areas of Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh speak of ethno-veterinary treatments of ewes (or sheep) which suffer from abortions during pregnancy[41].

Thus one finds from the above discussions that ancient Indians were aware of such pregnancy complexities and fetotomy procedures in animals.

---

37. Rajkumari, Ranjana., *et al.*, "*Ethnoveterinary Plants Used by the Chiru Tribes of Manipur, NorthEast India*", Indian Journal of Traditional Knowledge, Vol. 13, No.2, April 2014, p. 372.
38. Galav, Praveen., Jain, Anita., Katewa, S.S., "*Traditional Veterinary Medicine Used by Livestock Owners of Rajasthan, India*", Indian Journal of Traditional Knowledge, Vol. 12, No.1, January 2013, p. 50.
39. Kumar, Rajesh., Bharathi, Kumar Avinash, "*Folk Veterinary Medicines in the Bareilly District of Uttar Pradesh, India*", Indian Journal of Traditional Knowledge, Vol. 12, No.1, January 2013, pp. 42-44.
40. Kumar, Rajesh., Bharathi, Kumar Avinash, "*Folk Veterinary Medicines in the Sitapur District of Uttar Pradesh, India*", Indian Journal of Traditional Knowledge, Vol. 3, No.2, June 2012, p. 269.
41. Singh, Dheeraj., *et. al*, "*Ethnoveterinary Knowledge of Raikas of Marwar for Nomadic Pastoralism*", Indian Journal of Traditional Knowledge, Vol. 13, No.1, January 2014, pp. 126-127.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Conclusions and Discussions

Ancient Indian veterinarians had fascinating knowledge about the animal behaviour and its pregnant periods to deliver young ones. The above details of Fetotomy in various animals gleaned from several ancient texts shows that there has been a tradition of examining the Foetus of various Fauna by ancient veterinarians in order to study their health, characteristics or other purposes. Though not much information on the Foetus removal of other animals such as tigers, cheetah, birds are not dealt in the ancient available texts beginning from the Vedic period, traces of such details are found in the veterinary texts devoted to different animals such as elephants, cows and horses. However these treatises deal elaborately on the causes and diagnosis of the removal of dead foetus. Each of these involves several medical procedures of cleaning, excision of obstructing parts in the womb, surgical stitching and are dealt partly in the available treatises. These may be compared to Modern day techniques. What is even more endearing is that the texts describe as to how to treat such animals writhing in pain and instilling confidence in them that their Foetus is dead and then they are carefully removed.

Another aspect is the divinity in which one pays respect to the deities protecting the animal (elephant, horse cow and so on) so as to allow such a surgical procedure to be carried out safely and successfully so that the animal is not harmed and feels no pain. This is evident from passages of the *Hastyāyurveda* of *Maharṣi* Pālakāpya. One must admire as to the care with which ancient Veterinarians have dealt on this aspect of Fetotomy which otherwise in the Natural world, an animal may not be able to detect or remove the dead Foetus and may be struggling to bear it in its womb. Though fetotomy may be a subject of modern day veterinary science, what seems to be even more interesting is the details which the texts describe about Caesarean sections, causes and diagnosis of the removal of dead foetus and other remedies. However the several cases and complexities involved in Fetotomy as explained in the Introduction may not be found described in these ancient veterinary texts, but may have been known to ancient veterinarians in practice. Further research in untapped ancient Indian texts would give rich knowledge on other such instances of Fetotomy known to ancient Indians.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the Secretary, Mythic Society, Bangalore and Secretary, Kannada Sahitya Parishat Library, Bangalore for providing the necessary references.[42]

---

42. Rajan, S. Sundara., "*Dictionary of Sanskrit Plant Names*", Vardhana Publications, Bangalore, 2005.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

PARASOL, FLYWHISK & FLYWHISK BEARERS IN BUDDHIST ART

Neeraj Kumar Mishra*

Abstract: The study presented is an attempt to discuss important elements, such as Parasol, Flywhisks and Flywhisks bearers, represented with Buddha in Indian art. They have a special place in Buddhist art and represent the belief of Buddhist tradition in which Buddha has been accepted as the Chakravarti Emperor. They have a special place in the early Buddhist art to the developed Buddhist iconography. Various stages of development of this tradition can also be seen in the art materials of major Buddhist art centres such as Bharhut, Sanchi, Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, Mathura, Bhaja, Karla, Ajanta, Ellora, Kanheri, Aurangabad etc.

Key Words: Buddha, Parasol, Flywhisk, Text, Bodhisattva, Buddhist art

Introduction

In early Buddhist art, certain symbols were used to represent Buddha, these symbols had their own significance and embodied meanings, as *Stūpa* displayed the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* of the Buddha, while Bodhi-tree represented the process of attaining enlightenment, *Buddha-pada* was a symbol of his physical presence in the physical world while *Dharmacakra* was considered as a symbol of his first sermon in Sārnāth. In addition to these symbols, there were two such symbols which represented Buddha as a wheel-turner (*a cakravartin*), these symbols were Parasol (*chatra*) and Flywhisk (*cāmara*).

Symbol of Kingship

Parasol and Flywhisk have been known as a symbol of kingship since ancient times. The description related to parasol and flywhisk are described in ancient Indian literature and distinguished in to *viśeṣa* (special) and *sāmānya* (ordinary).

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO. 124, Vol. 69, 2020, pp. 65-80.

* K-57/150-51, Nawapura, Varanasi, U.P. 221001, M. 9807377269; Email: neerajm312@gmail.com

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

In *Vinaya Piṭaka*[1], mention is made of two types of parasols, the first one is *maṇḍalabaddha* and the second is *śalakabaddha*; the former have a round canopy while the latter consisted of ribs. The *Brahmadatta Jātaka*[2] describes the use of parasols made of leaves by the poor. In the *Rājapaseṇiyasutta*[3], the parasol of Sūryābhadeva is described as equipped with flowers, while in the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*[4], the use of the parasol by women is also mentioned. But in the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā*[5], their acceptance as a symbol of royalty and divinity is perceptible. Detailed description related to the construction and use of the parasols is described in this book. Here the construction and shape of the parasols of the King, Crown Prince, Queen and Commander is described, as well as the use of goose, poultry, peacock and cranes feathers for the construction of the umbrella is also mentioned. Its handle is made of crystal and the rod of single wood is six cubits in length, covered with pure gold and having seven or nine joints. Like the parasol, characteristics of flywhisk are also stated in the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*, in *Cāmralakṣaṇam*[6] chapter. According to the text Gods created the *Cāmra* deer in the caves of Himalayas for the sake of their hair. The excellence of flywhisk is recognized by its brilliance, softness and hair density and those that are broken, small and pierced, are inauspicious.

Symbol of *Śākyasimha*

In the Buddhist tradition, Buddha was known as *Śākyasimha* and believed to have attained the status of a *cakravartin*[7]. In the *Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta*[8] he himself

1. *Vinay Texts*, Part.III, trans. T.W. Rhys Davids & H. Oldenberg, (1st edition) The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1882, pp. 133-134
2. *The Jataka*, Vol. III, (Ed. & Trans.) ed. E.B. Cowell, (1st edition) Cambridge University Press, London, 1973, Jataka No.323.
3. *Rājapaseṇiya sutta, kaṇḍikā* 47 & 106, (ed.) Doshi, Bechardas, (1st edition), Gurjar Granthratna Karyalaya, Ahmedabad, 1938, pp. 176-180
4. Sūtrakritāṅga, Jaina Sūtras, Part II, (ed.& trans). Hermann Jacobi, (1st edition) The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1894, p. 123
5. Bṛhat-Saṁhitā, (ed.& trans) P.V.S.Sastri, (1st edition), V. B. Sobbiah & Sons, Banglore, 1946, pp. 589-591
6. *Ibid*, pp. 588-589
7. *Buddhist Suttas*, (trans.) T.W. Rhys Davids, (1st edition) The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1881, pp. 91-95
8. *Dīgha Nikāya*, (trans. in Hindi) Rahul Sankrityayana, (1st edition), Mahabodhi Sabha, Sarnath, 1937, pp. 235-239

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

told Ānanda to worship his relics like those of a sovereign. Following this tradition, for this purpose, the sculptors chose materials like parasol and flywhisk, which were accepted as a royal symbol in the Indian tradition. The sculptors always presented him as the *cakravartin* and parasols and flywhisks became a means of displaying Buddha in early Buddhist art centres such as Sanchi, Bharhut, Amaravati and Nagarjunkonda etc. They also remained integral to the Buddha-sculptures, with some changes over time. Thus, in early Buddhist art, not only the symbols of Buddha were decorated with parasol and flywhisk, but in many instances, they represented Buddha himself.

Since Gautama Buddha himself was a Śākya dynastic Kṣatriya and was called *Cakravartin*, the use of parasol and flywhisk in his honour was as important as the royal parasol of the sovereigns. The *Harmika* of almost every *Stūpa* was covered with a parasol, probably because the remains of *Śākyasiṁha* Buddha were included in the *Stūpa*. Sometimes two or three parasols were also installed on the top of the *Stūpa*(pl.01-02). Another example obtained from Amaravati is of special importance. In Bharhut we saw examples of two to three parasols covering the *Stūpa*. But the engraving of numerous parasols (pl.03) with a *Stūpa* engraved on a balustrade of Amravati *Stūpa* is unique in itself.

In the art paraphernalia of Bharhut and Sanchi, they have been used extensively for symbolic representation of Buddha. In the art of Bharhut, the use of parasol with *Stūpa* is a centre of special attraction. In the examples obtained from here, evidence of two to three parasols covering the *Stūpa* is found. This can be seen in the visualization of the *Stūpa*-veneration engraved on a *Vedika* pillar of the Bharhut *Stūpa* (pl.04), here the *Stūpa* flourished with floral garlands is decorated with parasol. Together two devotees are shown folding their hands and performing homage. Here probably *Stūpa* is a symbolic representation of Buddha. The scene engraved on another *Vedika* pillar of Bharhut *Stūpa* shows the king of Kośala Prasenjit going to meet the Buddha (pl.05). Here the king is standing on a chariot, his attendants holding flywhisks and parasols are also displayed. In the *bodhigṛha*, a *dharmacakra* equipped with wreaths is installed, and covered with parasol. Two devotees are shown worshipping on both sides. On the another *Vedika* pillar of Bharhut *Stūpa*, according to the inscription[9], the dialogue between

9. Cunnigham, Alexander, *The Stūpa of Bharhut*, London, 1879, pp. 88-89

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Indra and Buddha is engraved (pl.06), in which Buddha answered many questions of Śakra. In the example presented, wreaths are decorated on the rock pedestal and the decorated umbrella is displayed above. Śakra is possibly seated with other gods in front of the rock pedestal. Here, the umbrella on the empty rock pedestal can be called a symbolic representation of the Buddha. In the art of Bharhut, parasol is more often associated with the symbols of the Buddha than the flywhisks.

In Sanchi one such instance is of special importance in which parasol and flywhisk can be clearly understood as symbolic expressions of Buddha. Here in the scene of the Mahābhiniṣkamsana[10](pl.07) engraved on the eastern gateway of Sanchi *Stūpa* no.01, there is a demonstration of *Kanthak* (horse) and *Chandak* going out of the city from the main gate. There is no rider displayed on the horse here, but presentation of parasol and flywhisk is probably a sign of the symbolic presence of Buddha. In the next scene, respectively, *Kanthak* (horse) is shown returning to the city without Parasol and Flywhisk, where Parasol and Flywhisk not being with horse is indicative of Buddha's great departure. In the art of Amaravati, the scene of the great departure (pl.08) has an engraving of parasol and flywhisk over the horse, which signifies the invisible presence of Siddhārtha. On the eastern archway of Sanchi *Stūpa* no. 01, the Bodhi trees, symbol of five *Mānuṣi* Buddhas, were also presented (pl.09) covered with parasols. Similarly, in the scene of the assault of Māra engraved on the northern archway, the presence of a parasol along with the Bodhi tree (pl.10) shows the symbolic presence of Buddha.

The empty throne is displayed in a scene engraved on the slab of another *Vedika* pillar of the Amaravati *Stūpa*, along with the *Dharmacakra* pillar and the Buddha's foot (pl.11), indicating the Buddha's symbolic presence. Here four attendants are also shown, two of which are seated in undisclosed posture and the other two are displayed on the side of the throne with the flywhisks in hand. Here the presence of throne, *dharmacakra*, and flywhisk bearer attendants with *buddha-pada* presents this scene near the *Cakravarti* (wheel turner) Buddha. Similarly, a vacant throne is displayed under a tree on a slab of the *Vedika* pillar

10. *Lalita Vistara*, (trans.in Hindi) Shanti Bhikshu Shastri, Uttar Pradesh Hindi Sansthan, Lucknow, pp. 406-408

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

of Amaravati *Stūpa*, here also two attendants are shown carrying parasol and flywhisks in honour of the throne (pl.12). Another example of Parasol with the throne is also found from the remains of Jaggayapet *Stūpa*. There is also a presentation of the Buddha's foot along with the throne (pl.13) which signifies the Buddha being there.

Another example of the use of the parasol and flywhisk as a symbol of the Buddha can be found in the visualization of the birth of Siddhārtha engraved on a plaque of the Nāgārjunakonda *Stūpa* (pl.14). According to *Lalitavistara*[11], when the Bodhisattva came out of the womb, four gods like *Śakra, Brahmā,* etc., appeared to receive him with golden clothes. Here the scene shows Māyā devī holding tree branch (salbhañjika), in which stage she gave birth to Siddhartha. Pūrṇaghāṭ in between the two streams below, describes the bath after birth by cold and hot streams. In front of Māyādevī, four gods have been shown holding clothes in their hands. It is noteworthy that newborn Siddhārtha is not seen here. Parasol and flywhisk have been used near the tree for their representation.

Thus, we saw how Parasol and Flywhisk were used for the representation of Buddha in early Buddhist art. Even after the formation of Buddha's image, parasol and flywhisks remained uninterruptedly associated with Buddha. The first spacious statue of Buddha from Sarnath, was also installed under the stone pillared canopy (pl.15) (according to the inscription, in the third year of King Kaniṣka's dominion)[12]. The Parasol continued to be used in other early Buddha statues of the Kushan period, like the inscription on the Buddha statue (Bodhisattva according to the inscription) discovered by Cunningham from Sahet-Mahet describes the installation of the statue with the parasol.[13]

Flywhisk Bearer

In this way, the use of parasol and flywhisk was being done with Buddha in some form or the other. Along with this, the tradition of presenting two attendants as a flywhisk bearer was also developing. Flywhisk bearers were being displayed from

---

11. *Lalita Vistara*, pp. 181-182
12. Sircar, D.C., *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. 1, (1st edition), University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1942, p. 132
13. *Ibid.* p. 140

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Sanchi itself, but in Amaravati they were given beauty and high place. Later, when Buddhist iconography developed, Sakra and other Bodhisattvas were also included in the category of Flywhisk bearers. In the carving of the Nāgārjunakonda *Stūpa*, the Buddha is shown seated in *Padmāsana* posture on the throne (pl.16). Here the representation of two antelopes under the throne proves it to be a visualization of the first sermon at Sarnath. Two flywhisk bearers are also shown at the back. Another example engraved on the railing of Nāgārjunakonda *Stūpa* (pl.17) shows the Bodhisattva residing in the heaven[14]. After pleading with the gods, he accepted to descend on earth. Here, in the scene, the Bodhisattva, seated on the throne in the middle of all the gods, is displayed with the parasol and flywhisk bearer retainers. These examples are probably an early attempt to show flywhisk bearers with Buddha's human form (pl.18). We see the next stage of such appearance in the sedentary figure of Buddha (Bodhisattva according to the inscription), obtained from Katra Keshavdev of Mathura (pl.19). Here the flywhisk bearers are depicted in the scene with special costumes, their appearance seems to be near the divinity.

Later, the Buddha's parasol was replaced by Prabhavali (halo), but the association of the flywhisk and the flywhisk bearers remained with the Buddha statues. In the preceding examples, although the form of the flywhisk bearers was close to the divinity, they were not explicitly accepted as deities. But in the Buddhist art of the Western Deccan, the interesting tradition of presenting the Bodhisattvas as flywhisk bearers began. Demonstrating the Bodhisattvas as Flywhisk bearers has been a feature of Western Deccan art and has been full of variations. Probably the important reason for this was that the Buddha was displayed as an emperor here, he was shown seated in the *Pralaṁbapāda* posture in the sanctum of caves on huge throne, presence of the Bodhisattvas with this grandeur created a spiritual environment. In the early examples, it is difficult to clearly identify them due to lack of variety in characteristics and being almost identical. But in time, their identity as Padmapāṇi, Vajrapāṇi and Maitreya Bodhisattvas becomes clear as a result of iconographic development respectively. Generally, in the sanctum sanctorum, with the main statue of the Buddha, the appearance of the

14. *Lalita Vistara*, pp. 103-104

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Bodhisattvas (the flywhisk bearers) were more developed. While the identity of the Bodhisattvas (the flywhisk bearers) displayed with the Buddha statues engraved on the outer walls, (pl.20-21) is not as clear. Commonly these Flywhisk bearer Bodhisattvas had Flywhisk in one hand and the other hand either on the waist or in that hand is depicted holding *Padma*, Nāgakesara flower (sometimes nectar-urn), *Vajra*, etc. which are the components of Padmapāṇi, Maitreya, Vajrapāṇi respectively. On the outer wall of Kanheri cave no. 03(pl.22) two Flywhisk bearer Bodhisattvas with a seated statue of Buddha is engraved. Of these, only Maitreya Buddha is identified by having nectar-urn in his hand. Another important example is engraved on the outside wall of the verandah of Aurangabad cave no.01. Here the seven Buddhas are displayed in the *pralambapāda āsana* with their hands in the *dharmacakra mudrā*. On either side of these seven Buddhas, two attendants are standing. Both attendants are shown holding flywhisk in their hands. On the right side Padmapāṇi holds flywhisk in his right hand and lotus in his left hand. On the left the Bodhisattva has taken flywhisk in one hand, while one hand is on the waist (pl.no.23). Padmapāṇi is the most popular Flywhisk bearer Bodhisattva here. Even eleven headed Padmapāṇi was conceived. Sometimes only Padmapāṇi Bodhisattva has been shown alone as a flywhisk bearer attendant of Buddha (pl.no.24). In most of the examples he is depicted with the Buddha and other acolytes have kept changing (pl.no. 25-26).

Conclusion

Thus, parasol and flywhisk were used in early Buddhist art to give royal respect to the Buddha (pl.27). At the same time, they were also used as a symbolic representation of Buddha. Along with this, the existence of the flywhisk bearer attendants also got developed. From the Kushan period, the practice of displaying attendants with parasol and flywhisk begins. This tradition continued to evolve and shows diversity in Buddhist art centres, especially in the Western Deccan. These flywhisk bearers were initially displayed as ordinary attendants. But in the Buddhist art of Western Deccan, they were replaced by Bodhisattvas like Padmapāṇi, Vajrapāṇi and Maitreya. Certainly, it has been a gradual process whose short form is presented in this study.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

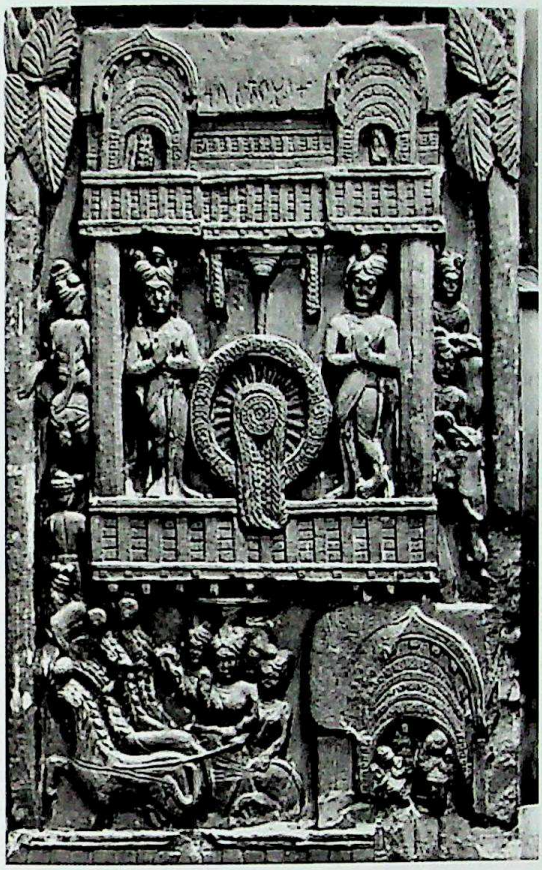
Pl.01 (COURTESY: AIIS)

Pl.02 (COURTESY: AIIS)

Pl.03 (COURTESY: AIIS)

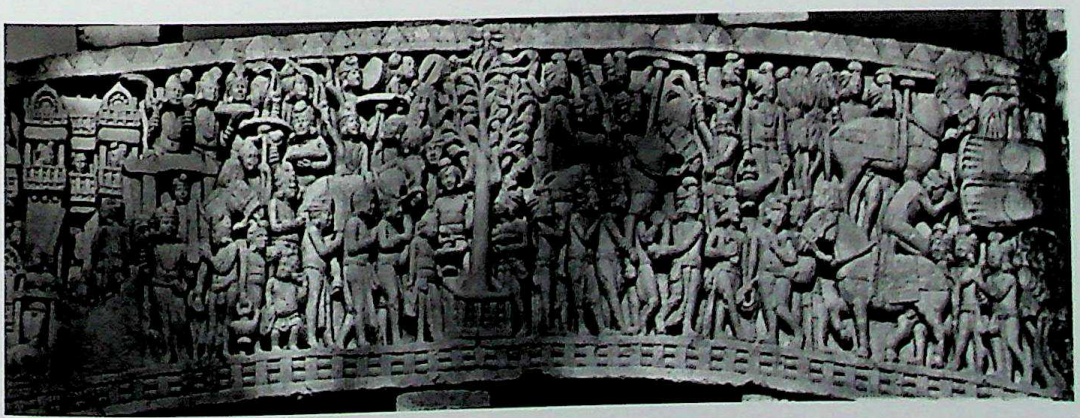
Pl.04 (COURTESY: AIIS)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.



Pl.05 (COURTESY: AIIS)

Pl.06 (COURTESY: AIIS)



Pl.07

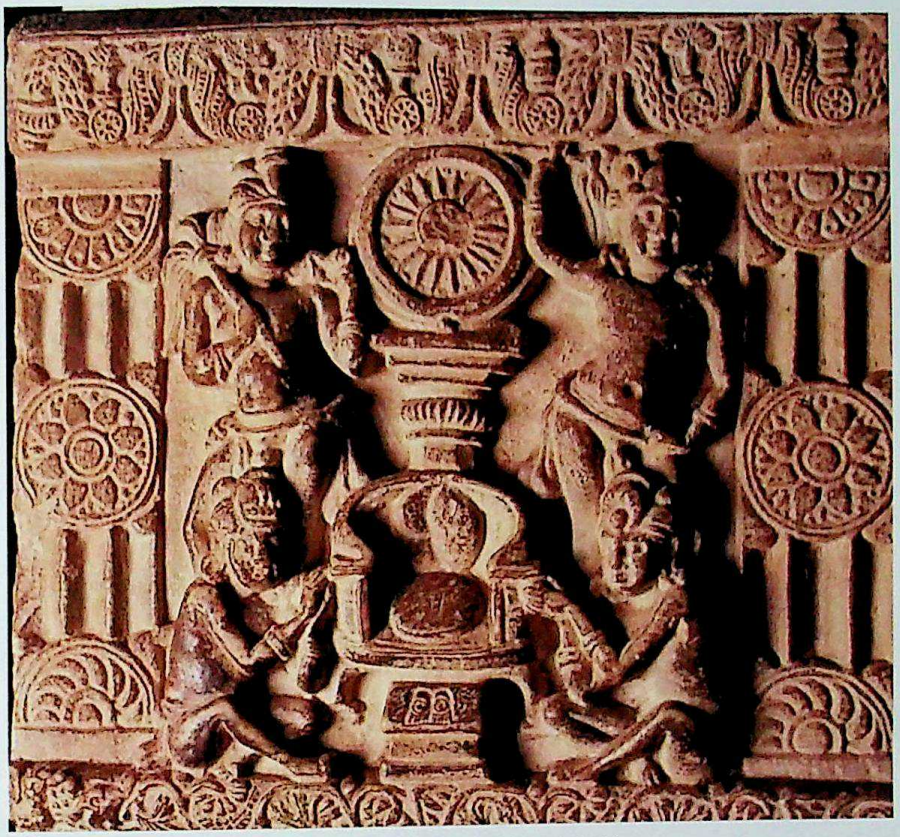
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Pl.08 (COURTESY: AIIS)

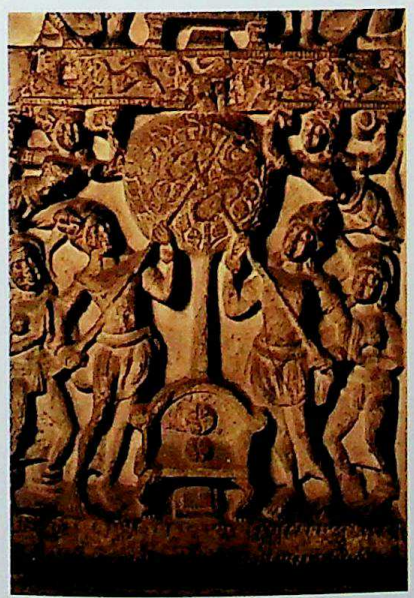
Pl.09

Pl.10

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.



Pl.11 (COURTESY: AIIS)

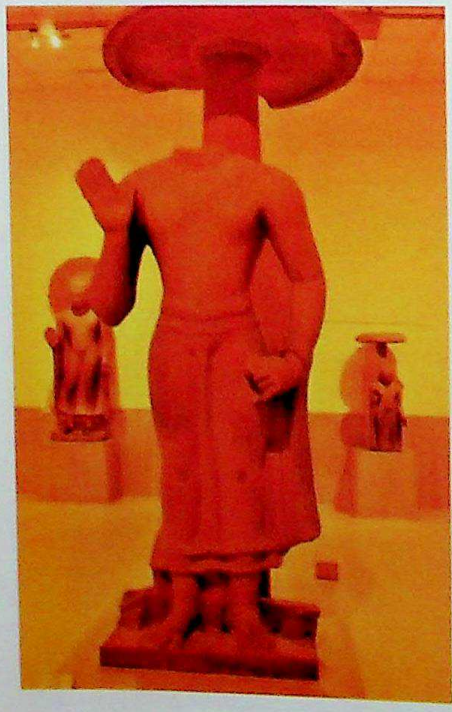


Pl.12 (COURTESY: AIIS)

Pl.13 (COURTESY: AIIS)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

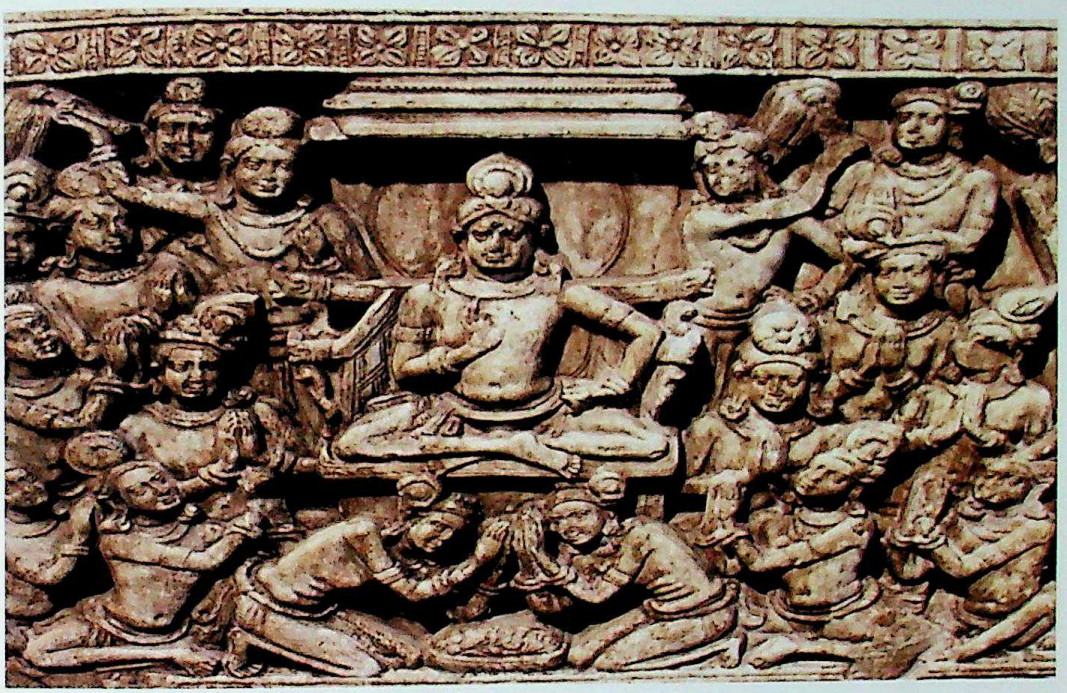
Pl.14 (COURTESY: AIIS)



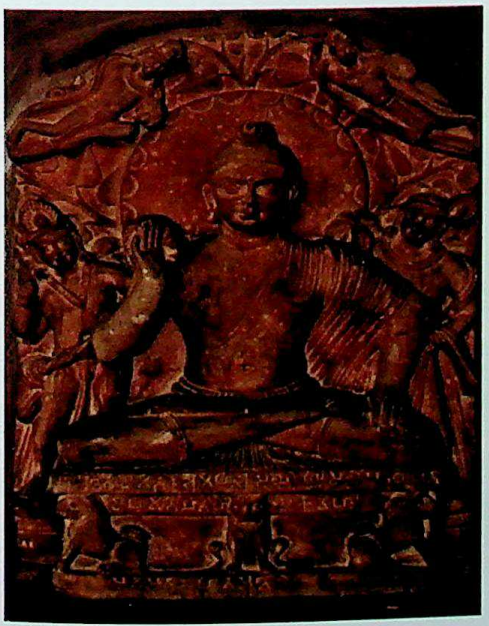
Pl.15

Pl.16 (COURTESY: AIIS)

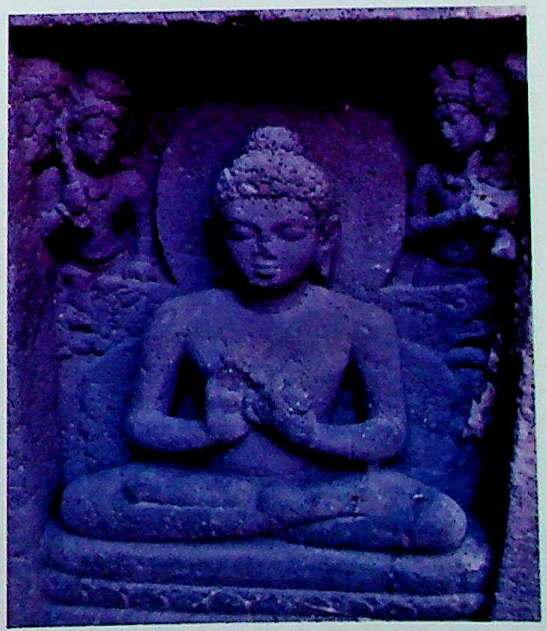
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.



Pl.17



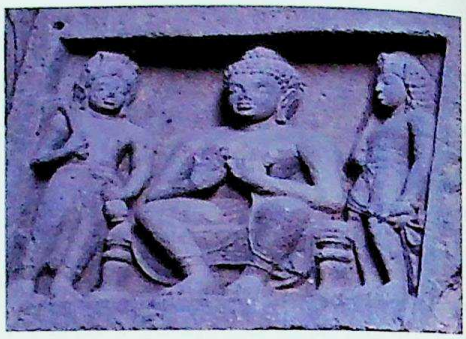
Pl.18



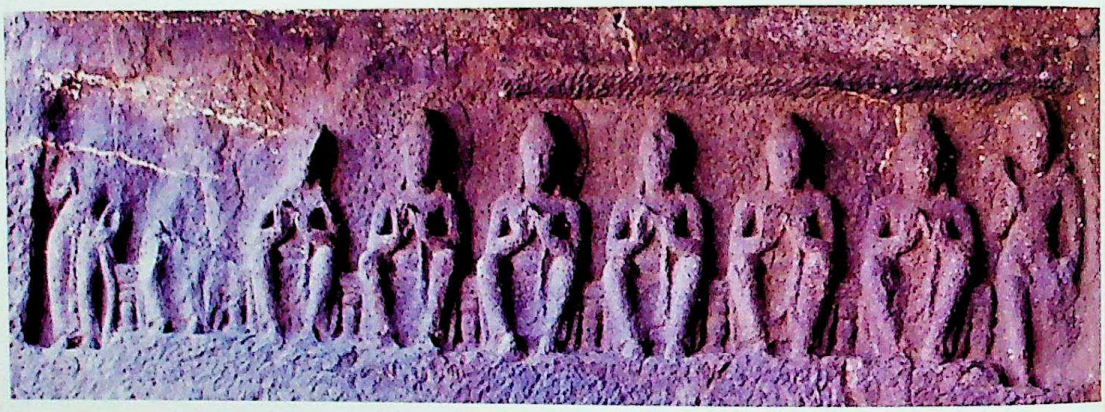
Pl.19

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

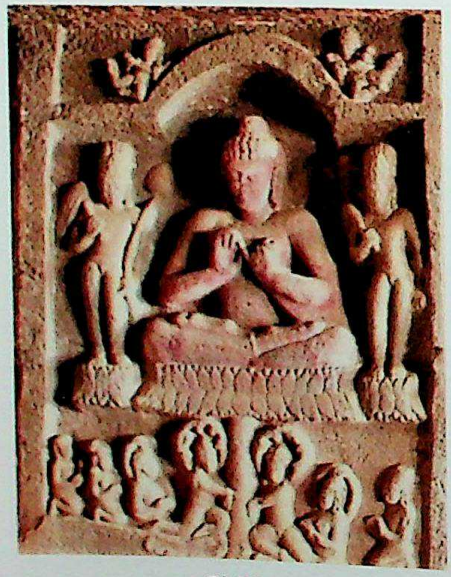
Pl.20



Pl.21



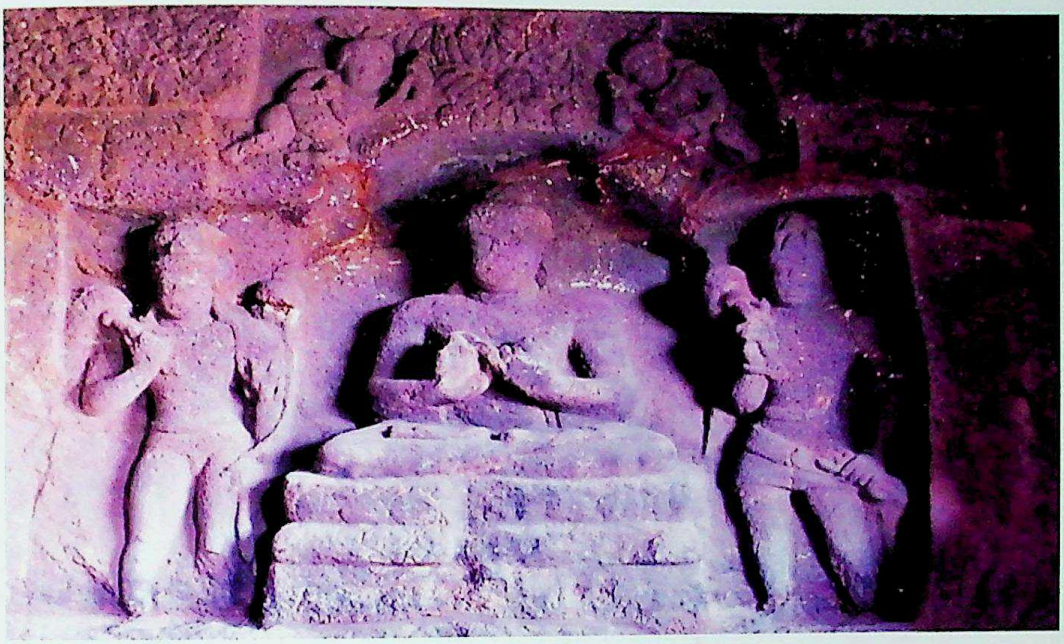
Pl.22



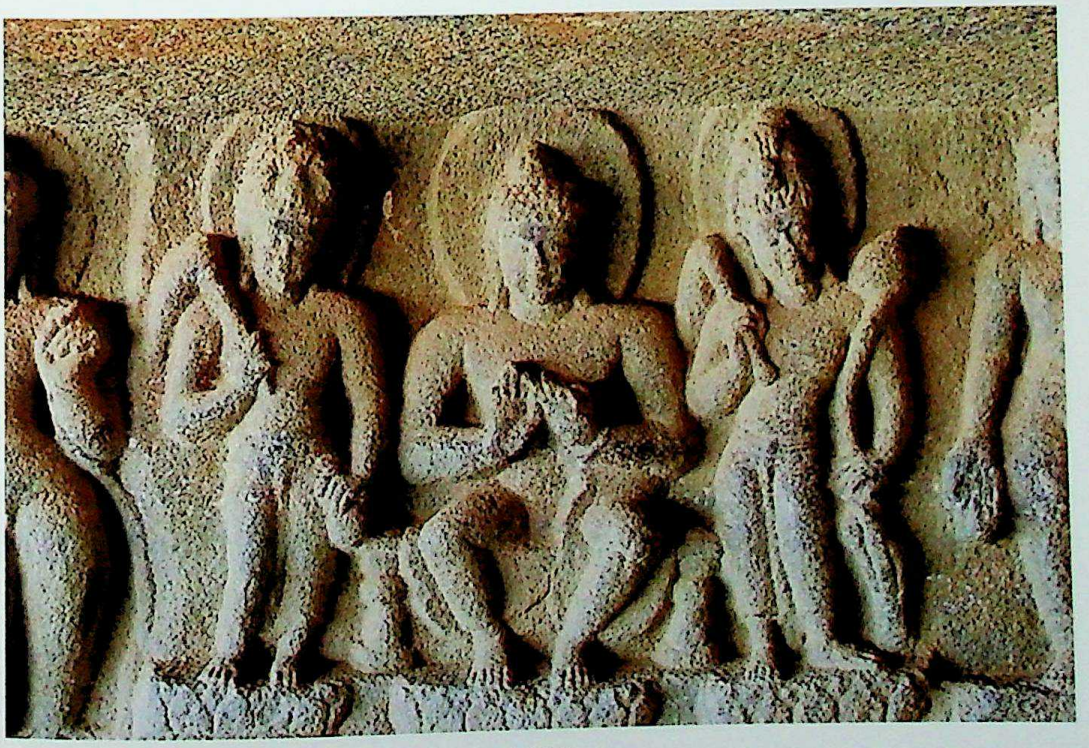
Pl.23

Pl.24

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

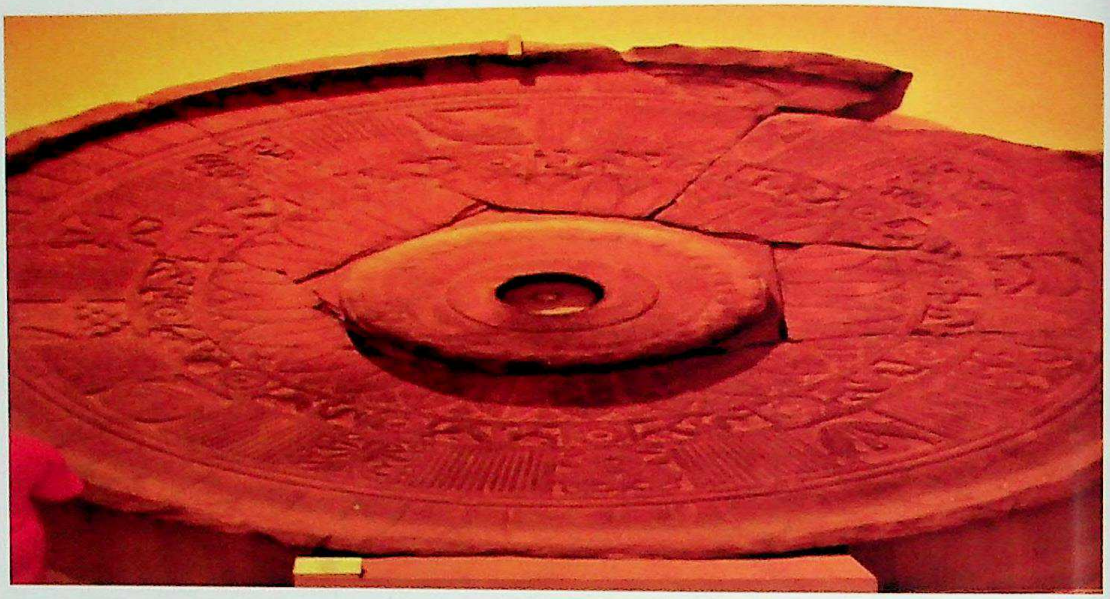


Pl.25



Pl.26

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.



Pl.27

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

VEDIC REMEDIES TO ERADICATE *ĀDHIDAIVIKA* SORROWS

Kalindi Shukla*

Abstract: Sāyaṇa in his introductory commentary on *Atharvaveda* (AV), has opined that by studying AV one gets the fruit of studying all other Vedas. Amongst four Vedas, the first three Vedas are related to Eerie *Eudemonia*, while AV guides us for Eerie and mundane welfare[1]. By looking into the subject matter of AV, it seems that it is connected with common life so worldly subject matters are included more. It presents the concept of welfare, happiness and prosperity of one and all. There are several *mantras* to accomplish welfare and prosperity of a person, society, country and the whole world.

Though sometimes it happens in such a manner that even after living according to the rules of Veda a person faces lots of sufferings. *Sāṁkhyadarśana* has logically divided these sufferings as three types of sorrows.

1 ***ādhyātmika* sorrow** - pertaining to human body and mind.

2 ***ādhibhautika* sorrow** – caused by other objects. e.g. Snake, pigeon, mouse, enemy, Co-wife etc.

3 ***ādhidaivika* sorrow** - proceeding from divine or supernatural agencies, e.g. Natural disasters,

All these sorrows become obstacles in daily life and journey towards liberation. So it is essential to remove it. AV depicts even the remedy to eradicate these sorrows.

This paper presents easy Vedic remedies for the eradication of *ādhidaivika* sorrows faced by a man in this physical world. Hence here, the term 'Vedic Remedies' applied in the title indicates AV.

Key Words: *ādhidaivika* sorrow, Vedic remedies

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO. 124, Vol. 69, 2020, pp. 81-94.

* 2, Vishwabharti Society, Near Navarangpura Telephone Exchange, Ahmedabad – 380006; M: 9924512300; E-mail: kalindis1@gmail.com

1. व्याख्याय वेदत्रितयमामुष्मिकफलप्रदम् । एहिकामुष्मिकफलं चतुर्थं व्याकरिष्यति ॥ *Atharvavedabhāṣyabhūmikā*, vol. 1, p. 3.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Objective

In this age many countries of the world are being troubled by natural calamities which hinder their progress. People are also suffering from inscrutable diseases. These are *ādhidaivika* sorrows. This research paper aims at depicting useful information about preventive and curable ancient remedies for the eradication of *ādhidaivika* sorrows. This definitely reflects greatness of Vedas which emphasizes its tendency to be useful to the mankind.

Methodology

It is necessary to understand the term *ādhidaivika* before knowing the remedies of its eradication. Vachaspati Mishra and Vijnanbhikshu have explained the term *ādhidaivika* sorrow in detail[2]. On the basis of these various explanation we can conclude that sorrows arising due to demons, ghost, spirits, 'विनायक', planets and natural calamities related to heaven are called *ādhidaivika sorrow*.

Veda suggests plenty of accomplished remedies to get rid of these sufferings. To eradicate *ādhidaivika* sorrows. Vachaspati Mishra in *sāṁkhyatattvakaumudī explains* that "तथाऽऽधिदैविकस्यापि दुःखस्य मणिमन्त्रोषधाद्युपयोगः सुकरः प्रतीकारोपाय इति[3]" । It means amulet, *mantras* and herbs should apply to sufferer to resist divine obstacles. All these remedies have been narrated in AV.

AV is the extract of other three Vedas. Its *mantras* are known as accomplished *mantras* (सिद्धमन्त्राः)[4]. *Mantras* of AV must be applied according to the instruction of *gopathabrāhmaṇa* and *pañcakalpa*[5] to attain eerie and mundane welfare. *Nakṣatrakalpa, vaitānsūtra, saṁhitāvidhi (kauśikasūtra), āṅgirasakalpa and śāntikalpa*. These five are known as a *pañcakalpa or pañcasūtra.*

---

2. आधिदैविकं तु यक्षराक्षसविनायकग्रहाद्यावेशनिबन्धनम् । *sāṁkhyatattvakaumudī*, p. 7. देवानग्निवायप्वादीनधिकृत्यप्रवृत्तमित्याधिदैविकम् । दाहशीताद्युत्थमिति भावः । *vijñānbhikṣubhāṣya*, p. 8.
3. *Sāṁkhyatattvakaumudī* on *sāṁkhyakārikā*-1, p. 9
4. चत्वारो वा इमे वेदा ऋग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदो ब्रह्मवेदः इति (गो.ब्रा. 02.16) अत एव सारवत्त्वाद् सिद्धमन्त्रता समाम्नायते । *Atharvavedabhāṣyabhūmikā*, volume: 1, p. 14.
5. तस्य ऐहिकामुष्मिकसकलपुरुषार्थपरिज्ञानोपायभूतस्य अथर्ववेदस्य नव भेदा भवन्ति । तद् यथा । पैप्पलादास्तौदा मौदः शौनकीया जाजला जलदा ब्रह्मवदा देवदर्शाश्चारणवैद्याश्चेति । तत्र शौनकीयादिषु चतृषु शाखासु अनुवाकसूक्तऋगादीनां गोपथब्राह्मणानुसारेण पञ्चभिः सूत्रैर्विनियोगोऽभिहितः ॥ *ibid*, pp. 71-72

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Mantras of AV can successfully eradicate *ādhidaivika* sorrows if they are applied consistently with *paňcasūtra* and *gopathabrāhamaṇa.*

Let us see how demons, 'विनायक' and evil planets harm us and how this pain eradicated by amulet, *mantra* and herbs.

The emergence of demons and ghost are unknown as the emergence of divine[6], so demons and ghost are also known as 'देवयोनि[7]'. While the word 'विनायक' means one who creates obstacles[8]. This word is used in *Rāmāyaṇa*[9] and *Bhāgvatamahāpuraṇa*[10] in same meaning. Commentators have defined it as spoiler planet and spoiler god in *Rāmāyaṇa*[11].

Demons give lots of sufferings. In AV Seers narrate various demons and witches who harm us in various ways. They are the causes of incomprehensible diseases. So *mantra* of AV.2.3.6cd apply for removal of these diseases. They keep wandering in search of our desideratum with an intention of destruction as described in AV. (1.7.2, 3).They snatch away our knowledge. According to AV (5.29.4-10, 15) they eat our flesh. They destroy us by entering in our food, crops, water and milk. They give us pain during day and night. Carnivorous demons ruin our mind. Due to witchcraft, demons destroy our descendants and due to witches, diseases come in hereditary. Thus there are various witches who bring different evil. Fear is created by 'निःसलाः' witches. 'एकवाद्या' gives sorrow by bitter words. 'चण्ड' Witches who are the children of evil demon 'चण्ड' always give pain. Daughters of witch 'मगुण्डी' live in manger, gambling casino and house full of grains. While 'अरायि' always creates obstacles in auspicious deed and 'सेदि' always destroys all our desired objects as said in (2.14) AV.

---

6. देवानामिव योनिरुत्पत्तिकारणमविभाव्यमेषाम् इति मुकुटो व्याख्यत् । *Amarakośaḥ* ,1.1.11, p. 8.
7. *Amarakośaḥ* 1.1.11 7, p. 7.
8. वि इति विघ्नानां नायको । *Abhidhānacintāmaṇiḥ* 2.207, p. 93, विनायकस्तु हेरम्बे तार्क्ष्ये विघ्ने जिने गुरौ इति मेदिनी । (17.213) *Amarakośaḥ* 1.1.13, p. 8
9. विनायकाश्च शाम्यन्ति गृहे तिष्ठन्ति यस्य वै ॥ *Rāmāyaṇa* 6.128.113, vol. 6, p. 2723
10. डाकिन्यो यातुधान्यश्च कूष्माण्डा येऽर्भकग्रहाः । भूतप्रेतपिशाचाश्च यक्षरक्षोविनायकाः ॥ *Bhāgvatmahapuraṇaṃ* 10.6.27, p. 880
11. commentary on *Rāmāyaṇaṃ* 6.128.113 : (1) विनायकाः विघ्नकारिणो ग्रहाः । *Govindrājīyaṃ* and (2) 'विघ्नकारिणो देवगणविशेषाः ।' *Tilak*, vol. 6, p. 2723.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Likewise demons and ghost 'विनायक' also cause sufferings. In Vedas evil gods are also imagined along with pious gods Indra and Agni. While the spoiler planets never come directly but sorrow arrives due to their motion[12] .

'निर्ऋति' is a god of death and miseries. Sāyaṇa has interpreted 'निर्ऋति'[13] as a 'पापदेवता' who draws the soul into sins (10.2.10 AV) and gives inauspicious sufferings[14]. 'निर्ऋति' is the source of all diseases[15]. As well as he is the cause of hereditary diseases as per 'क्षेत्रियात् त्वा निर्ऋत्या जामिशंसाद द्रुहो मुञ्चामि वरुणस्य पाशात्' । (2.10 AV) We can identify 'पापदेवता निर्ऋति' *as* an evil god (विनायक) and suffering as caused by them (विनायकजन्य) on the basis of *kauśikasūtra*[16]. So these are *ādhidaivika* Sorrows.

As a remedy 'निर्ऋतिशान्ति' is performed for those who are possessed by the evil god. It is performed individually as well as part of *śāntikakarma* and *pauṣṭikakarma* for the destruction of sin[17]. 'आञ्जनमणि' is tied after performing pious rituals[18] in order to protect from the evil god. Then metaphoric ritual of preparing the effigy of 'निर्ऋति' and its dispersal is performed. This *abhicārakarma* is done to kill evil god.[19] Prayer is done to an evil god to keep death and diseases away. In *śāntikarmas* of AV certain rituals are performed for eradication of disease[20].

---

12. विनायका विघ्नकर्तारः ते सञ्छिन्नभिन्ना भवन्तीति तेषामधिपतिर्विनायक उक्तः, स तु न क्वापि स्वतः आयातीति तन्निवृत्यर्थं य इत्यत्राप्यनुसन्धेयम् ॥ Commentary *Subodhinījī* on *Bhāgavatamahāpurāṇa* 10.6.27, p. 882.
13. *Atharvaveda Sāyaṇabhāṣya* - 2.10.1, vol. 1, p. 497, 6.84.3, vol. 3, p. 493
14. See: Sanskrit–English Dictionary by Monier Williams p. 554 and *Vedic kośa* – vol. 2, p. 791
15. अहं तु त्वत्स्वरूपं जानानः त्वां निर्ऋतिरिति सर्वरोगनिदानभूता पापदेवता निर्ऋतिः । *Sāyaṇabhāṣya on* AV 6.84.1, p. 491
16. तत्र द्विविधा व्याधयः । आहारनिमित्ता अन्यजन्मपापनिमित्ताश्च । *Kauśika sūtra* (appendix) *keśava paddhati* 4.25.1-3, p. 323.
17. तथा पञ्चनिर्ऋतिकर्माणि शान्तिकपौष्टिकेषु सर्वत्र अङ्गत्वेन वा पापक्षयार्थं स्वातन्त्र्येण वा कर्तव्यत्वेन सूत्रकारेणोक्तानि । *Sāyaṇabhāṣya* on AV.1.1, vol. 1, p. 92
18. नैर्ऋतीं निर्ऋतिगृहीतस्य इति (न.क.17) विहितायां नैर्ऋत्याख्यायां महाशान्तौ आञ्जनमणिम् अभिमन्त्र्य बध्नीयात् । *Sāyaṇabhāṣya* on AV.19.46,vol-7, p. 315
19. नैर्ऋतकर्मणि निर्ऋतिप्रतिकृतिविसर्जनानन्तरं यथा सूर्यः इति जपन् पुनः स्वगृहम् आगच्छेत् । *Sāyaṇabhāṣya* on AV 7.10, vol. 4, p. 56
20. तत्राहारनिमित्तेषु चरकबाहडसुश्रुतेषु.... व्याध्युपशमनं भवति । अशुभनिमित्तेषु अथर्ववेदविहितेषु शान्तिकेषु व्याध्युपशमनं भवति । *Kauśikasūtra* (appendix) *keśava paddhati* , 4.25.1-3, p. 323

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

One of the forms of 'निर्ऋति' is quarrel. The person who becomes victim of 'निर्ऋति', quarrel appears in his family. In order to eradicate quarrel, *mantra* (8.2.12 AV) is chanted. A prayer is done for the destruction of 'निर्ऋति', demons and ghosts. Than the priest gives oblation of ghee mixed with sugar[21] with chanting of AV (8.2.12 and 13) *mantras*. Sacramental rituals which are done along with chanting as prescribed in *paňcasūtra*[22].

The *sūktas* which describes destruction of the witches, demons and ghosts are known as 'चातनगण'[23].' 'चातन' means "to destroy[24]". *Ātharvaṇik* performs rituals for the removal of ghost with the usage of 'चातनगण'[25].' Like 'चातनगण', the *sūktas* of 'मातृनामागण'[26]' are also used for the removal of ghost, demigod, pixy, spirit and planetary evil effects[27]. 'उच्चाटनकर्म' is being performed[28] along with recitation of 'चातनगण'. Thus through the power of *abhicāramantras* and *abhicārakarma* demons are destroyed.[29] Determination is made to destroy the demons that put obstacles in sacrifice. The power of demons increase during the time of night[30].So rituals are performed in no moon night with chanting of 'चातनगण' and 'मातृनामागण'.

---

21. कलहरूपनिर्ऋतिगृहीते कुले तच्छान्त्यर्थम् आरादरातिम् इति द्व्यृचेन आज्यं जुहुयात् । ----- नैर्ऋतकर्मणि अनेन द्व्यृचेन इङ्गिडाज्यादीनि शर्करामिश्राणि कृत्वा जुहुयात् । अथातो नैर्ऋतकर्म इति प्रक्रम्य नक्षत्रकल्पे सूत्रितम् ॥ *Sāyaṇabhāṣya* on AV.8.2, Vol. 4, p. 462
22. 'प्राज्ञये वाचम्' इति रक्षोग्रहजनितपीडानिवृत्तये..... । *Sāyaṇabhāṣya* AV. 6.34 vol. 3, p. 304
23. *Kauśika sūtra* 8.25, p. 27
24. चातयतिर्नाशने इति यास्कः । *Nirukta*.6.6.30, p.330
25. चातनानां अपनोदनेन व्याख्यास्यातम् । *Kauśika sūtra* 25.22, p. 69
26. चातनान्यनुयोजयेन्मातृनामानि च । *ibid.* 136.9, p. 288
27. मातृनाम्नो सर्वसुरभिचूर्णान्यन्वक्तानि हुत्वा रोषेण प्रलिम्पति । *ibid.* 26.29, p. 73, see: (appendix) *keśava paddhati*: गन्धर्वराक्षसे अप्सरसे भूतग्रहादिषु भैषज्यान्युच्यन्ते.... । p. 326 & दिव्योगन्धर्वः (2.2) इमं मे अग्ने (6.111) यौ ते माता (8.6) इति मातृनामानि । *ibid.* 8.25, p. 27
28. तत्र तान्सत्यौजाः (4.36) त्वया पूर्वम् (4.37) इति द्वयोः सूक्तयोश्चातनगणे पाठात् चातनानामपनोदनेन व्याख्यातम् । (*kauśikasūtra* 25.22) इति विहितेषु भूतग्रहाद्युच्चाटनकर्मसु विनियोगः ॥ AV 4.36 *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, vol. 2, p. 587
29. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya* : ''अग्नये रक्षोघ्ने पुरोडाशम् अष्टाकपालम् अमावास्यायां निशाया निर्वपेत्'' । इति AV 4.36.3, vol. 2, p. 589 & त्वया पूर्वम् इति सूक्तस्य गणप्रयुक्तो विनियोगः पूर्वसूक्तेन सह उक्तः ॥ तथा सर्वभूतग्रहभैषज्यार्थं शमीपर्णचूर्णं शमीफलमध्ये कृत्वा अनेन सूक्तेन अभिमन्त्र्य आविष्टग्रहं पुरुषं भोजयेत् । अलंकारेण सह धारयेत् । AV 4.37, vol. 2, p. 595
30. ''निशितायां हि रक्षांसि प्रेरते संप्रेर्णान्येवैनानि हन्ति' (*Tai.saṁ.* 2.2.2.3) इति'' । *Sāyaṇabhāṣya* AV 4.36.3, Vol. 2, p. 589

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Different gods are worshiped to destroy demons with *abhicāramantras* in 5.29.11-15 AV. Prayer is done to Rudra for the "destruction of demon's rib, beheading of demons, sending them to death due to mighty herbs". Prayer is done to god *maitrāvaruṇa* to scatter demons. Prayer is done that such demons die quarreling among themselves in 6.32.1-3 AV.

Recitation of *mantras* generates energy. This energy or power of *abhicāramantras* destroys demons and ghost[31].

As stated in *sāṁkhyatattvakaumudī* (*sāṁkhyakārikā-1)* amulet is tied as a remedy. Amulet named 'सदम्पुष्प' is tied to get protection from demons and their fear. It is also known as 'संध्यामणि' and 'त्रिसंध्यामणि'[32]. It is originated from the pupil of eagle's eye. Our eye can see only the visible objects but this amulet has the power to look at the subtle objects. A person who ties this amulet can see demon of universe and six directions and can destroy demons through *mantras*.[33] This herbal amulet is as sharp as an eye of bitch Saramā. It means that anyone who ties this amulet becomes able to visualize uncanny evil elements. Evil elements cannot escape from its effect. In spite of god Indra has thousands eyes, he ties it on his right hand to visualize demons. Thus one remedy to destroy demons is to tie 'सदम्पुष्प' amulet with recitation of *mantras* of 'चातनसूक्त'[34].'

AV suggests one of the remedy 'to put on gold' for the protection from demons;

नैनं रक्षांसि न पिशाचाः सहन्ते देवानामोजः प्रथमजं ह्येतत् ।
यो बिभर्ति दाक्षायणं हिरण्यं स जीवेषु कृणुते दीर्घमायुः ॥ 1.35.2

---

31. (1) सर्वांस्तान्सहसा सहे - तान् सर्वान् पिशाचादीन् सहसा बलेन मन्त्रप्रभावजनितेन सहे अभिभवामि । *Sāyaṇabhāṣya* on AV 4.36.3, vol. 2, p.589, (2) तपनो अस्मि पिशाचानां - पिशाचानाम् रक्षसाम् अहं तपनः मन्त्रसामर्थ्येण तापकोऽस्मि । *Sāyaṇabhāṣya* on AV 4.36.6, vol. 2, p. 592

32. *Sadampuṣpā* name of a plant.... *Dar. trisaṁdhyā Kec.saṁdhyā* Cf. *dadapuṣpa,* Introduction *Kauśika sūtra,* page. LV

33. आपश्यतीति सदम्पुष्पामणिं बध्नाति । *Sāyaṇabhāṣya* on चातनसूक्त AV 4.20.9, vol. 2, p.453 and रक्षोभैषज्यमुच्यते । सदम्पुष्पा संध्या प्रसिद्धा । *Kauśika sūtra* (appendix) *keśava paddhati,* 28.7 p.329

34. त्रिसंध्यामणिधारणेन ब्रह्मग्रहादीन् साक्षात्कृत्य मन्त्रसामर्थ्येन तान् निराकरोमीत्यर्थः । *Sāyaṇabhāṣya* on AV 4.20.9, vol. 2, p. 461

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Means those who wear gold are not harmed by demons and spirits because gold is the first semen of god Agni. According to *Taittirīyabrāhamṇa* 'Āpaḥ were the Wives of god Varuṇa. By seeing her, god Agni was excited and ejaculated. Drops of Agni's semen transformed into gold[35]. Agnideva is the destructor of demons and spirits[36]. Gold is transformed composition of Agni's strength. So Seer suggests the usage of gold to keep demons away.

Apart from amulet and gold, some herbs also contain power to destroy demons. *Maharśi* Kaṇva, Agatsya, Kaśyapa, Atharvā have successfully killed demons by using a 'अजशृङ्गी'. It is a powerful creeper. It keeps the demons far away by its strong bad smell. It looks like horn. Horns are the weapons of animals. They destroy the enemy and save themselves with the horns. So 'अजशृङ्गी' is also considered as destructive weapon to destroy demons as said in AV 'अजशृङ्गचऽराटकी तीक्ष्णशृङ्गी व्यृऽषतु' ॥ 4.37.6ab.

AV states the usage of an uncommon object 'सीस' for the destruction of demons. 'सीस' means the foam of a river. According to Seer's belief this trivial object is the destroyer of demons. It removes the obstacles raised by the demons. Like Agni, God Varuṇa is also a destructor of demons. He likes this destructive Object. So Seer determines (1.16 AV) to destroy demons with foam of a river.

Gandharvas are demi gods as well as according to *Nirukta,* Gandharva means moon[37]. It has direct connection with mind as said in *Ṛgveda-* 'चन्द्रमा मनसो जातः' । (10.90.13). So the phase of moon can cause madness and insanity. When the madness and insanity arise due to moon and '*ब्रह्मराक्षसा's*[38]', first four *mantras* of '6.112 AV are chanted for the eradication of pain caused by planets. These *mantras*

---

35. हिरण्यस्य अग्निरेतस्त्वं तैत्तिरीयके श्रूयते । आपो वरुणस्य पत्नय आसन् । ता अग्निरभ्यध्यायत् । ताः समभवन् । तस्य रेतः परापतत् । तद्धिरण्यम् अभवत् । (*Tai.Brāhm.1.1.3.8*) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya* on AV 1.35.2, vol. 1, pp. 404-405
36. अग्निः खलु वै रक्षोहा । (6.1.4.6 *Tai.Saṁ.*) *Sāyaṇabhāṣya* on AV 1.35.2, vol. 1, p. 404
37. सुषुम्णः सूर्यरश्मिश्चन्द्रमागन्धर्व । चन्द्रमागन्धर्वित्युच्यते । गां धरतीति निरुक्तनिर्वचनात् ॥ 2.2.6 *Niruktaṃ,* p. 74
38. देवैनसादुन्मदितमुन्मत्तं रक्षसस्परि । AV 6.111.2 & 3. *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, vol. 3, p. 578

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

are known as 'मातृनामागण'. They are used just like 'चातनगण'[39]. Madness connected with Gandharva should be known as 'ग्रहपीडा'.

Śāntikalpa prescribes[40] *bhārgavi mahāśānti* to destroy 'ग्रहपीडा'. It should be performed for the eradication of fear, mental and physical diseases, pain caused by constellations and planets. Here the word 'ग्रह' suggests both the meanings 'ghost and planets'. The reason of some diseases cannot be found by medical science originate due to ghost and planets[41]. When evil ghost and demons destroy our desirable things and create suffering, 'दुर्वामणि' is tied along with the chanting of *sūkta* 2.7 AV to destroy evil effects of demons and ghosts. *Mantras* of 6.128.1 AV are chanted to remove bad effects that arise due to moon eclipse.[42].

Constellations also have a good and ill influence on us. So prayers are offered to 28 Constellations for welfare In AV

योगं प्रपद्ये क्षेमं च क्षेमं प्रपद्ये ।
योगं च नमोऽहोरात्र्याभ्यामस्तु ॥ 19.8.2AV

Bhārgavi Mahāśānti is done with *sūktas* 'चित्राणि साकम्' (19.7) and 'यानि नक्षत्राणि' (19.8.1) to avoid calamities based on constellation[43]. Subject matter of these *sūktas* are *swastyayayana* (holy reading). Thus the chanting of *swastimantras* is one of the remedy to demolish *ādhidaivika* sorrow. *Svastimantras* are applied for the well-being of the host. Through *mantras* positive energy is evolved and negative and destructive elements are removed. Thus they eradicate pain arise from ghost, spirit,

---

39. "इमं मे अग्ने" इति चतुर्ऋचस्य मातृनामगणे पाठाद् "दिव्यो गन्धर्व" इति मातृनामभिर्जुहुयात् (कौ. 13.2) इत्यादिषु विनियोगो दृष्टव्यः ॥ तथा गन्धर्वराक्षसाप्सरोभूतग्रहादिपीडाशान्तये... AV. 6.112 *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, vol. 3, p. 575

40. भार्गवीं नक्षत्रग्रहोपसृष्टभयार्तरोगगृहीतानां शान्तये *śāntikalpa* 17.1, p. 102 & *Atharvaveda-bhāṣyabhūmikā*, vol. 1, p. 78

41. "W: the number nine: N (name) of particular evil demon's or spirit's who seize or exercise and bad influence on the body and mind of man (causing insanity &c.; it falls within the province of medical science to expel these demons; those who esp. seize children and cause convulsions &c. are divided into 9 classes according to the number of planets, *Suśr.*)" A Sanskrit –English Dictionary by Monier Williams. P.372

42. तथा सोमग्रहणजनितारिष्टशान्तये अनेनाज्यं जुहुयात् । अथ यत्रैतच्चन्द्रमसमुपप्लवति इति प्रक्रम्य सूत्रितम् । शकधूमं नक्षत्राणीत्येतेन सूक्तेन जुहुयात् इति । AV *6.128 Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, vol. 3, p. 648

43. अथ यत्रैतन्नक्षत्राणि पतापतानिव भवन्ति तत्र जुहुयात् । *Kauśika sūtra* 8.128.1-6, p. 279

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

god of directions and Mahadeva[44]. As a sacramental ritual oblation is offered to god Rudra along with the chanting of three *artha sūktas* 6.107, 6.128, 11.2[45]AV. Welfare is wished for the family and pet animal by chanting 6.107. Whereas with chanting of *sūkta* 6.128 Seer constant wishes for holiness, happiness and prosperity. 6.128 is also chanted to remove the evil effects of moon eclipse. Evil effects of planets are removed by *swastyayana*.With rituals Seer wishes for a happy home and life. Thus *Swastyayana* collects positive energy. Collection of positive energy is a *Vedic* remedy for eradication of sorrow.

By chanting three *artha sūktas* (11.2, 6.128, and 6.107), *aṣtamūrti* Mahadeva is also worshipped to calm down sufferings related to earth, heaven and sky. Prayers are offered to Rudra to eradicate sorrow caused by Rudra, ghost and demons. Rudra and Mahadeva are the same. According to *Vāyavīy saṁhitā*. Rudra means 'रुद्र दुःखं दुःखहेतुर्वा तद् द्रावयति नः प्रभु । रुद्र इत्युच्यते तस्मात् शिवः परमकारणम् ।' it means Rudra gives freedom from each and every sorrows and brings welfare. So in *rudrāṣṭādhyayī* of *yajurveda*, Rudra is worshipped for all types of sorrow. In AV also Rudra is worshiped.

Natural calamities like famine, drought, fall of thunders, turmoil of comet, Scorching heat (torrid) chilled cold etc. are *ādhidaivika* sorrow. As they emerged from Heaven and gods. *Śāntikalpa* prescribes *amṛtā mahāśānti* for elimination of divine calamity[46]. In this *mahāśānti mantras* are chanted by addressing '*Viśvedevā*'. Along with *mantras* various rituals are being performed. All these rituals have been described in *śāntikalpa*[47]. This *mahāśānti* is considered as a remedy for all sorrows[48].

'*Vāruṇi mahāśānti*' is also performed whenever water related calamity arises[49]. Sufferer tie up 'शङ्खमणि' as a ritual and priest chants the *mantras* of *sūkta* 4.9 AV to stop this calamity.

---

44. रुद्रभूतप्रेतराक्षसलोकपालगृहदेवमहादेवगणाद्युपहताभिघाते (cod. देवगृह) स्वस्त्ययनं । *ibid.* 50.14, (appendix) *keśava paddhati:*, p. 354
45. उत्तमेन सारूपवत्सस्य रुद्राय त्रिर्जुहोति । समाप्तं देवाभिघाते स्वस्त्ययनं । *ibid.* 50.14, p. 146
46. अमृता दिव्यान्तरिक्षभौमेषु प्रयुञ्जीत् । *Śāntikalpa* -17.1, p. 102
47. *śāntikalpa* -20.21.22.23, pp. 106-107
48. अन्यासां विश्वशान्तीनाम् अमृताम् विश्वभैषजम् । 20.1cd, *śāntikalpa,* p. 106
49. जलभये वारुणी । *Atharvavedabhāṣyabhūmikā,* vol. 1, p. 80

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Famine gives lots of trouble to mankind. God Sun is worshiped to remove this trouble because he is the main cause for rain[50]. Mercy of Sun can stop famine. One of the names of Sun is 'जरायुज'. Oblation of water is offered to Sun along with chanting of *sūkta* 'जरायुज'।1.12[51] AV.

Like famine fall of lightening creates lots of suffering for mankind. Prayers are done to Parjanya with chanting of AV *sūktas* 1.13 and 7.11 for the obviation of fall of lightening[52]. In Veda, Parjanya is considered as an omphalos of clouds. In the outer sky Parjanya bears all clouds. God Parjanya is a controller of famine and unseasonal rain. While Sun is the cause of rain. As Sāyaṇa quotes *Taittirīya brāhamaṇa* that 'याभिरादित्यस्तपति रश्मिभिस्ताभिः पर्जन्यो वर्षति' (10.63) means rain (Parjanya) occurs due to heat of Sun (Āditya) .That's why Sun and Parjanya are worshiped for rain related calamities.

'अशनि' is also a rain related calamity. 'अशनि' means Thunderbolt. It is like inauspicious planet 'केतु'. To prevent the bad effects of thunderbolt *Ātharvaṇik* performs rituals named 'अशनिनिवारणकर्म'. As a part of rituals he buried a bag of *som, auspicious grass,* flour and specific herb. He dig a pit in the home and farm. Along with the rituals he recites the *sūktas*.1.13 & 7.11 AV[53] . He prays thunderbolt to be merciful.

The 19th section of AV consists of *śāntimantras.*

उत्पाताः पार्थिवान्तरिक्षाः शं नौ दिविचराः ग्रहाः । 19.9.7cd
शं नो भूमिर्वेप्यमाना शमुल्का निर्हतं च यत् । 19.9.8ab
नक्षत्रमुल्काभिहतं शमस्तु । 19.9.9

---

50. 'जरायुज'..... श्रूयते हि । यदा खलु वा असावादित्यो न्यङं रश्मिभिः पर्जन्यो वर्षति पर्यावर्ततेऽथ वर्षति । '(*tai.saṁ.* 2.4.102) इति । 1.12.1 AV, *Sāyaṇabhāṣya,* vol. 1, p. 233

51. तथा दुर्दिननिवारणे अतिवृष्टेर्निवारणे च जरायुज इति 'दुर्दिनम् आयन् प्रत्युत्तिष्ठत्यन्वृचम्' (कौ.सू) इत्यादि सूत्रोक्तानि सूर्योपस्थानोदकप्रक्षेपादीनि कर्माणि अनेन सूक्तेन कुर्यात् । 1.12, AV, *Sāyaṇabhāṣya,* vol. 1, p. 231

52. नमस्ते अस्तु यस्ते पृथु स्तनयित्नुरित्यशनियुक्तमपादाय प्रथमस्य सोमदर्मेत्यादि । (*Kauśika sūtra* 5.2) । (appendix) *keśava paddhati, kandikā*,38 su.8, p. 340 and 1.13 AV *Sāyaṇabhāṣya,* vol. 1, p. 240

53. नमस्ते अस्तु विद्युते इति सूक्तम् अशनिनिवारणकर्मणि अशन्युपस्थानादौ सोमदर्भकुष्ठलोष्ठमञ्जिष्ठादिद्रव्याणां गृहक्षेत्रादिषु निखनने च विनियुक्तम् । 1.13 AV *Sāyaṇabhāṣya,* vol. 1, p. 240

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

नक्षत्रमुल्काभिहतं शमस्तु । 19.9.9
शं नो ग्रहाश्चन्द्रमसाः शमादित्यश्च राहुणा ।
शं नो मृत्युर्धूमकेतुः शं रुद्रास्तिग्मतेजसः ॥ 19.9.10

Power of this *śāntimantras* calms disturbance caused by planets and natural disaster and protects us from any distress caused by heaven, space and planets.

Section 19 also consists of three *Sūktas* where prayers are done for national Welfare and happiness. e.g. 'दिवो मादित्या रक्षन्तु भूम्या रक्षन्त्वग्नयः' । $19.16.2_{ab.}$ Here prayers are offered to three Agni ($19.16.2_{ab}$) to get rid of divine and earthen calamity. This is known as *Swastyayanaṃ* means 'blessings' or 'auspicious sayings'. Power of *śāntimantras* work as a remedy for deterrence of sorrow.

When there is fear of falling of meteoroid or drought, the expert priest called by the king performs repentance *karma*[54]. An oblation of rice and ghee is offered to Agni along with recitation of 'प्रजापतिः सलिलाद्'॰ (4.15.11 AV) Instead of oblation of पुरोडाश to *prajāpati*. Priest offers incense by addressing seven seers[55]. When there is turmoil of comet, god Varuṇa is worshipped by chanting 4.26.3, directions are worshipped by 1.31.1 and Agni is worshipped by 4.15.10, along with rituals.

These rituals are performed along with *mantras* to prevent ourselves from calamities related to sky and space. Harm caused by wildfire is also called *ādhidaivika* sorrow. Sāyaṇa interprets 'क्रव्याद् अग्नि' as a wildfire in AV[56]. In *sūkta* '3.21.8-10 Prayers are offered to Savitādeva and oblation is offered to the 'क्रव्याद् अग्नि' along with chanting of these *mantras* to calm down the wildfire. Thus sorrow caused by god Agni is eradicated with the power of *mantras* and rituals.

While in the present era, it is very difficult to extinguish wildfires. We should trace out *mantras* related to wildfire to eradicate this sorrow.

---

54. अथ यत्रैतद्दिवोल्का पतति तदयोगक्षेमाशङ्कं भवत्यावृष्टशङ्कं वा । *Kauśikasūtra* 126.1-13, p. 276-277
55. अथ यत्रैतद्धूमकेतुः सप्तर्षीनूपधूपयति तदयोगक्षेमाशङ्कमित्युक्तम् । *ibid.*127.1, p. 278
56. य क्रव्यात्... अग्निः स सवित्रादीनाम् अनुग्रहात् शान्तः सुखकरो भवतु । यः पुरुषरेषणः पुरुषस्य हिंसकोऽग्निः सोपि शान्तः सुखकरो भवतु । अतो अपि च योऽग्निः विश्वदाव्यः सर्वस्य दाहको दावाग्निः तं क्रव्यादम् मांसभक्षकम् अग्निं अशीशमं शान्तम् अकार्षम् । 3.21.9 AV *Sāyaṇabhāṣya,* vol. 2, p. 205

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Storms and cyclones are caused by wind, so they are also *ādhidaivika* sorrow. Prayers are offered to god of seasons to calm down distress related to wind[57].e.g. storm and cyclone.

Though the *ādhidaivika* sorrow gives physical pain and mental grief. Both these miseries are related to body and mind. So it should be considered as *ādhyātmika* sorrow. But if the remedies to remove this misery are internal. Then only it should be considered *ādhyātmika* sorrow[58].But if physical and mental grief is caused by ghost, demons etc...and removed by external things like amulet, *mantras* and herb then this grief is known as *ādhidaivika* sorrow.[59]

As it is known that the Vedic culture considers sacrifice prominent. There sacrifice were performed with rituals and chanting of *mantras*. Chanting *mantras* is lauds of eternal Logos (शब्दब्रह्म). Sounds or spoken words are never destroyed. It remains in the universe as a wave. *Mantra* recited with Vedic accents creates waves and enable chanter to fulfill his desire. So it is possible for one to achieve favored things through *mantras* and avoid suffering through the power of *mantras*.

It is said that by chanting only AV, one can accomplish all wishes[60]. It is believed that sacrifice has two aspects; one is speech and other is mind. Speech is accomplished by *Ṛgveda, Yajurveda and Sāmaveda.* While the second side, mind is accomplished with AV[61]. Thus sacrifice is not accomplished without AV. No one's sacrifice is successful without *Ātharvaṇika.* So for the removal of all types of sufferings, different *śāntikarmas* are performed along with *mantras* of AV.

---

57. निवाते... वायूपलक्षितसमस्तदुःखकारणरहिते । 6.55.2 AV *Sāyaṇabhāṣya*, vol. 3, p. 386
58. सर्वं चैतदान्तरोपायसाध्यत्वादाध्यात्मिकं दुःखम् । *sāṁkhyatattvakaumudī on sāṁkhyakārikā-1*, p. 6
59. बाह्योपायसाध्यं च दुःखं द्वेधा, आधिभौतिकम् आधिदैविकं च । ..... आधिदैविकं यक्षराक्षसविनायकग्रहाद्यावेश-निबन्धनम् इति । ibid. p-7 ... तथाधिदैविकस्यापि मणिमन्त्रौषधाद्युपयोगः सुकरः प्रतीकारोपाय इति । *ibid.* p. 9
60. न तिथिर्न च नक्षत्रं न ग्रहो न च चन्द्रमाः । अथर्वमन्त्रसंप्राप्त्या सर्वसिद्धिर्भविष्यति ॥ (P.2.5) *Atharvaveda-bhāṣyabhūmikā* । vol. 1, p. 14
61. अयं वै यज्ञो योयं पवते । तस्य वाक् च मनश्च वर्तन्यौ । वाचा च हि मनसा यज्ञोवर्तत । इयं वै वाग् । अदो मनः । तद् वाचा त्रय्या विद्यैकं पक्षं संस्कुर्वन्ति । मनसैव ब्रह्मा संस्करोति" इति । (*Ai.brāhma.*5.33) । *Atharvavedabhāṣyabhūmikā* । vol. 1, p. 8

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Sāyaṇa says in prologue of AV- रुधिरवर्षणयक्षराक्षसादिदर्शनभूकम्पधूमकेतु चन्द्रार्कोपप्लवादि बहुविधोत्पातशान्तयः । and *Atharvapariśiṣṭ* also supports this fact with statement[62] -

अथर्वाभिन्नं यै चातनं तैः चातनं नेतरैः त्रिभिः । विज्ञानं त्रिषु लोकेषु जयते ब्रह्मवेदतः ॥ १ ॥
दिव्यान्तरिक्ष भौमानाम् उत्पातानामनेकधा । शमयिता ब्रह्मवेद ज्ञास्तस्माद् रक्षिता भृगुः ॥ २ ॥

Conclusion

Thus to conclude I would say that there are three types of *mantras* in AV

1 *śāntikamantras* 2 *Abhicāramantras* 3 *Swastimantras*

śāntikamantras calm down (Defuse) the negative power of planets and natural calamities.

Abhicāramantras vanish demons, ghost, witches and evil gods with harsh words.

*Pauṣṭika mantra*s or *Swastyayana* generate positive energy, attract auspicious things, happiness and welfare and keep away sorrows.

We should apply power of *mantras* in our daily life as a preventive remedy to keep away miseries to live a happy life.

Various rituals are performed as a *mahāśāntis* to eradicate sorrows caused by different elements.e.g. *Bhārgavi mahāśānti, amṛtā mahāśānti, nairṛtī mahāśānti, vāruṇi mahāśānti.* As a part of rituals various amulet like 'यवमणि, आञ्जनमणि, शङ्खमणि' and 'सदम्पुष्पमणि' are tied. Herbs like 'अजशृङ्गी' is applied as a part of rituals. Usage of the foam of a river and gold have been prescribed. The sufferer becomes fearless with the impact of visible rituals. So rituals seem one type of psychological therapy.

Amulet and herbs should be searched, identified which are mentioned in AV.Its influence on body and mind must be observed. So by observations we can scientifically prove the significance of these remedies.

Thus, AV presents simple but fruitful remedies to eradicate *ādhidaivika* sorrows.

---

62. *Atharvapariśiṣṭa-II Rāṣṭrasaṁvargaḥ*, p. 49

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Bibliography

1 Bakshi M.M. Pt. Mukund, *Niruktaṃ,* Chaukhamba Sanskrit Pratishthan, Varanasi, 2012

2 Bhattacharya R., *Sāṁkhyasūtraṃ* ı (*vijñānbhikṣubhāṣyānvitaṃ*) Bharatiya vidya Prakashana, Varanasi, 1965

3 Bloomfield M., *Kauśikasūtra of the Atharvaveda* (With the extracts from the commentaries of Dāril and keĆava), Early Journal content on JSTOR, Baltimore, May-1889

4 Bolling G. M., *The Śāntikalpa of the Atharvaveda* (volume -xxxv), Early Journal content on JSTOR http://about.jstor.org/participate.jstor/individuals/early-journal.content.

5 Bolling G. M. & Negelein J.V., *The Pariśiṣtas of the Atharvaveda* (Volume-I Text and critical Apparatus) Part-1 Pariśiṣtas I-XXXVI, Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz, 1909

6 Gani Shri Chandavijaya, *Abhidhāna cintāmaṇināmālā*, Shri Rajendra road Jain sangha, Surat, 2003

7 Gaud Pt. R., *AtharvaVedaSaṁhitā* (along with Sayanbhashya), Publisher-Chowkhamba Vidyabhavan, Varanasi, 2007

8 Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit English Dictionary,* Motilal Banarasi Dass Publishers Private Limited, Delhi 1999

9 Mudholokara Shastri S.K., *Rāmāyaṇa of* Vālmīki (with *Tilak, Rāmāyaṇaśiromaṇi, Bhūśaṇa* commentary) Parimal Publications, Delhi, 2001

10 Sharma N., *Sāṁkhyakārikā* (with *sāṁkhyatattvakaumudī of* Vachaspati Mishra), Parimal Publications, Delhi, 2000

11 Shastri H., *Amarakośa* (With *rāmāśramī* commentary), Chowkhamba Sanskrit Sansthan, Varanasi, 1997

12 Shastri K. S., *Śrīmadbhāgavata Mahāpurāṇaṁ,* with various commentaries) Publisher, Shri Bhagavat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad, 1986

13 Upadhyaya Pt. Ch. & Upadhyaya A., *Vedic kośa,* Nag Publication, Delhi, 1995

14 Upreti Pt. Thanesh, *Sāṁkhyakārikā* (with *māṭharavṛtti* and *Prabodhinī* commentary), Pubisher-Butala & company, Delhi, 1981

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

SANSKRIT JURISTS ON PROPRIETARY RIGHTS OF WOMEN (WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO *MITĀKṢARĀ* COMMENTARY ON YĀJÑAVALKYA *SMṚTI*)

Kapil Gautam*

Abstract : The judicial system deals with the administration of the laws through the agency of the law givers or the courts. The system provides the machinery for resolving of the disputes of the aggrieved. In early Vedic times, we do not find any reference as regards the establishment of judicial procedure. The judiciary of ancient India was shaped by the concept of "*Dharma*"or rules of right conduct, as outlined in the various *Dharmaśāstras* explaining the Vedic scriptures in treatises like `Purāṇas' and `Smṛtis'. *Dharmaśāstras* are the manuals of law of Indian civilization. So the term used in this paper as *Sanskrit jurists* means visionaries of *Dharmaśāstras*. It is an ideal stage for any developed society, in which women has equal position to the man in social, economical and political sector. The study of the evolution of the property right of women in Indian culture is a very fascinating subject. It has a vital importance to the historian of the women, for the economic independence and property usually have an importance on the well being of a class. In the early times property right of women were recognised very tardily in almost all civilization. For exp.- In Germany there was no question of the women holding any property, she herself was an item in the movable property of the husband. The Frisian used to give their women and children in the payment of their taxes to Rome, when they had no other means to discharge their liabilities. In Rome the husband could sell his wife in early time.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO. 124, Vol. 69, 2020, pp. 95-116.

* Department of Sanskrit, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Vardhman Mahaveer Open University, Kota.M: 9672199658, Email: kapilg2008jnu@gmail.com

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

In India too women were regarded as property in very early time. They were given as a gift in Vedic age. The husband was deemed to have natural proprietary rights in wife. But apart the rather exceptional cases in Indian culture, there are no more evidences of women being regarded as chattel or property. Sanskrit Jurists or the seers of *dharmaśāstras* have defiantly declared that women and children could not be objects of gift or sale under any circumstances. The theory approved by Sanskrit Jurists was that husband and wife should be the joint owners of the household and property. In Indian culture wife was regarded as the co-owner of the family property along with her husband which is reflected in *dharmaśāstra* literature specially in *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*. The *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara, a commentary on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* occupies a prominent place for the author in his work has rationalised the laws in harmony with the changing needs of society and thus significantly contributed to the development of Hindu jurisprudence. This paper will represent an account of Sanskrit jurists on proprietary right of women with special reflection of *Mitākṣarā* commentary on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*.

Key Words: Proprietary Rights, Joint ownership, Inheritance, Partition, *Strīdhana*, Coheir, widow rights.

Introduction

In ancient India not only was there tremendous development of mathematics, astronomy, medicine, grammar, philosophy, literature, etc. but there was also tremendous development of law. This is evident from the large number of legal treatises written in ancient India (all in Sanskrit). Only a very small fraction of this total legal literature survived the ravages of time, but even what has survived is very large. It is said that all Sanskrit Law originated from the Vedas (also called *Śruti*). However, in fact this a fiction, and in fact the ancient indian law really emanated from texts named the Smṛtis e.g. *Manusmṛti, Yājñavalkya smṛti* and the Smṛtis of Viṣṇu, Nārada, Pārāśara, Āpastamba, Vaśiṣṭha, Gautama, etc. These Smṛtis were not laws made by parliament or some legislature. They were the written by certain Sanskrit Scholars in ancient times that was

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

specialized in law. Later, commentaries (called *Ṭīkās*) were written on these Smṛtis, e.g. the commentary of Vijñāneśvara (who wrote a commentary called *Mitākṣarā* on the *Yājñavalkya*), the commentary of Jīmūtvāhana who wrote a text named the *Dāyabhāga* (which is not a commentary on any particular Smṛti but is a digest of several Smṛtis), Nanda Paṇḍita (whose commentary *Dattaka Mīmāṁsā* deals specifically with the Law of Adoption), etc. Commentaries were then written on these commentaries, e.g. Viramitrodaya, which is a commentary on the *Mitākṣarā* (which founded the Banaras School of *Mitākṣarā*). It is not necessary to go into further details about this as that would not be necessary for this discussion. The *Mitākṣarā* and the *Dāyabhāga* were the most prominent schools, each of them based on a different interpretation of *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, which was written by sage Yājñavalkya and is one of the three main Smṛtis of ancient India and the second most important source of Hindu code after *Manusmṛti*. The *Mitākṣarā* School is based on Vijñāneśvara, interpretation of Yājñavalkya's text, while the *Dāyabhāga* School derives from Sage Jīmūtavāhana's commentary. The rules laid out by these schools are still followed as the basic principles for inheritance law in India. Sanskrit Jurists were unanimous in giving to women full proprietary rights in its wider sense. The Smṛtikāras and commentators did not exercise any sovereign power as was possessed by the king or the legislature. Their authority was based on their deep scholarship and the respect which they commanded by their writings. In this connection, it may be mentioned that in the guise of commenting on the Smṛtis, the commentators utilizing their creativity developed and expounded the Smṛti text in greater detail and differentiated between the Smṛti rules which continued to be in force and those which had become obsolete. They also incorporated new usages which had sprung up. The history of property rights of women is undoubtedly a proud and glorious chapter in the story of ancient Indian judiciary. It discloses a constant and continuous tendency in Indian society to increase the scope of property rights of women, usually at the expense of mens rights. Women were also invested with the rights of its independent disposal even the husband could not touch it under exceptional circumstances. For example, all the categories included in *strīdhana* prescribed by Sanskrit jurists have been recognised by modern courts. It was always misinterpreted in various research

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

papers as well as reference books based on secondary sources not original texts, that in ancient India patriarchal society recognised women as a chattle or property of men. So the study of proprietary rights of women becomes prominent idea of modern age. This paper will interpret what actually Sanskrit jurists says about rights of women in ownership, *Strīdhana*, inheritance, partition on movable and immovable property with special reflection of *Mitākṣarā* commentary on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*

1. Joint Ownership Theory

The theory approved by Sanskrit Jurists as early as the Vedic age was that the husband and the wife should be joint owner of the household goods and its property. The husband were required to take a solemn vow at marriage that he would never transgress the rights and interest of his wife in economic matters – यदि क्रयविक्रयं कुर्यात् तस्मिन् मम सम्मतिं गृह्णीयात् ।[1]

One *Dharmasūtra* writer concludes the joint ownership theory as wife is entitled to incur normal expenditure on household during her husband's absence-1

पाणिग्रहणत्वाद्धि सहत्वं कर्मसु द्रव्यपरिग्रहेषु च । न हि भर्तुविप्रसवासे नैमित्तिके दाने स्तयमुपदिशन्ति ।।[2]

The husband could not proceed on a journey without making proper provision for her maintenance and the household expenditure. If he married a second time the first wife had to be properly provided with maintanence. If the wife had misfortune of being assaulted, the liability of husband to maintain her did not come to an end- स्वयं विप्रतिपन्ना वा यदि वा विप्रवासिता।।
बलात्कारोपभुक्ता वा चोरहस्तगतापि वा ।।
न त्याज्या दूषिता नारी नास्यास्त्यागो विधीयते ।।[3]

Yājñavalkya concedes to her one third share of husband's property, in case she was superseded unjustly –

1. Panday, Rajbali, *Hindu Saṅskāras*, pg. 46.
2. *Āśvalāyana Dharmasūtra* II. 6.14.16-20
3. *Vātsyāyana Dharmasūtra* 28.2

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

आज्ञासंपादिनीं दक्षां वीरसूं प्रियवादिनीम्
त्यजन्दाप्यस्तृतीयांशमद्रव्यो भरणं स्त्रियाः ।।[4]

Sanskrit Jurists no doubt held the theory of joint ownership in proper way for a wife to vindicate her claims against her husband in a court of law. Vijñāneśvara in *Mitākṣarā* maintained that if a husband abandons a virtuous wife or wilfully misuse her property and refuse to restore it she can move to court to get her grievances redressed-

यत्तु गुरोः शिष्ये पितुः पुत्रे दम्त्पयोः स्वामिभृत्ययोः विरोधे तु मिथस्तेषां व्यवहारो न सिद्धयति । तदपि अत्यन्तव्यवहारनिषेधं परं न भवति । यदि दुर्भिक्षादिव्यतिरेकेण स्त्रीधनं व्ययीकृत्य विविद्यमानधनोऽपि याच्यमानो न ददाति तदा दम्पत्योरिष्यतः एव व्यवहारः ।[5]

The theory of joint ownership helped the wife only in securing a number of minor rights and privileges. It invested her with absolute rights of maintenance against the husband.

2. *Strīdhana*

Most of the legal authorities in ancient India did not recognize the right of a woman to own property like land, houses etc., which came under the category of immovable property. But those authorities admitted the right of a woman to *Strīdhana* (Ornaments, jewelery etc.,) which were given to her at the time of her marriage by her husband, parents, relatives etc., on those things the women had exclusive right. Those things which formed part of the *Strīdhana,* could not be taken away from her even by her husband according to the Hindu law. There are elaborate laws regarding *Strīdhana.* Basically it is of two types: maintenance (in money or land given by the husband) and anything else like ornaments given to her by her family, husband, in laws and friends of her husband. The maximum amount of first type might or might not be fixed by law, depending on the laws of the kingdom. But there was no limit to the second type, since these were gifts.

4. *Yājñavalkya smṛti*, II.76
5. *Mitākṣarā* on *Yājñavalkya smṛti*, II.3

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Pre-nuptial contracts are mentioned where the groom would agree to give a said amount of bride price to both parents and the bride. *Strīdhana* is divided into various types – the property given by parents at marriage, given by the parental family when she is going to her husband's house, given by her husband out of affection, and that property given separately by brother, mother, father, in laws anytime after marriage; if the groom gives bride price in excess of what was originally agreed on, then the excess amount belongs to the bride alone and is considered as *Strīdhana* as well.

The *Ṛg Veda* society seems to have recognized the following items of property as constituting a woman's *Strīdhana*[6]. They are: gifts from parents and brothers, gift before the nuptial fire, earning mechanical arts, gifts in the bridal procession. There are also references to daughters growing old in their father's house and getting a share and to a childless widow claiming husband's property. In the *Tattirīya Saṁhitā* of *YajurVeda*, there are references of father making gifts to daughter at the time of daughter's marriage.[7] It is said that these gifts would become her own property which means that she, even after marriage, had, absolute dominion over such property unfettered by her husband. However, *Strīdhana* was the only property recognized to be woman's property. Different schools gave different meanings to *Strīdhana*. Manu shows six kinds of *Strīdhana*. They are: gift given before the nuptial fire, gifts given at the brides' procession, gift given in token of love, gifts made by the mother, gifts made by the father and gifts made by the brother –

अध्यग्न्यध्यावहनिकं दत्तं च प्रीतिकर्मणि ।
भ्रातृमातृपितृप्राप्तं षड्विधं स्त्रीधनं स्मृतम् ।।[8]

Deval is seen including maintenance and accidental gain under it –

वृत्तिराभरणं शुल्कं लाभश्च स्त्रीधनं भवेत् ।

6. Kanti A (2003) *Women and the Law*. Allahabad: p. 321.
7. *Ibid* : p. 322.
8. *Manusmṛti*, ix. 194

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Kātyāyana mentions the same six kinds of *Strīdhana* as Manu and he defines the first three enumerated by Manu and gifts subsequent. Kātyāyana expressly excludes from the category of *strīdhana*, gifts made by stranger during converture as also property acquired by a woman during converture by mechanical art –

प्राप्तं शिल्पैस्तु यद्वित्तं प्रीत्या चैव यदन्यतः
भर्तुः स्वाम्यं तथा तत्र शेष तु स्त्रीधनं स्मृतम् ।।[9]

Yājñavalkya defines *Strīdhana* as "what was given (to a woman) by the father, the mother, the husband or a brother or received by her before the nuptial fire or presented to her on her husband's marriage to another wife and the rest (*Ādya*) is denominated as *Strīdhana*. So that which is given by kindred, as well as her marriage fee (*śulka*) and anything bestowed after marriage –

पितृमातृपतिभ्रातृदत्तमध्यग्न्यु पागतम्
आधिवेदनिकाद्यं च स्त्रीधनं परिकीर्तितम् ।।
बन्धुदत्तं तथा शुल्कमन्वाधेयकमेव च ।। [10]

Vijñāneśvara to propose most extensive additions to scope of *strīdhana*. Taking advantage of word *ādyaṃ "etcetera"* which Yājñavalkya has used at the end of the enumeration of the usual six varities of *strīdhana.* Vijñāneśvara has defined *Strīdhana* in *Mitākṣarā* as, "that which was given by the father, by the mother or by the husband or by the brother and that which was presented by the maternal uncle and rest at the time of wedding before the nuptial fire and a gift on a second marriage and property obtained by inheritance, purchase, partition, adverse, possession and finding-

आद्यशब्देन रिक्थक्रयसंविभागपरिग्रहाधिगमप्राप्तमेतत्स्त्रीधनं मन्वाधिभिरुक्तम् ।।[11]

Mitākṣarā School expanded to include nine types of *Strīdhana* :

(1) Gifts and bequests from relations;

(2) Gifts and bequests from strangers;

---

9. *Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra* v. 736.
10. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti,* II,143-144
11. *Mitākṣarā* on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*,II,143.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

(3) Property acquired by self exertion and mechanical arts;
(4) Property purchased with *Strīdhana*;
(5) Property acquired by compromise;
(6) Property obtained by adverse possession;
(7) Property obtained in lieu of maintenance;
(8) Property obtained by inheritance; and
(9) Share obtained by partition.

Originally *strīdhana* consisted of ornaments and costly clothes . In course of time landed property also began to to be conveyed to women as *strīdhana* property. *Strīdhana* is divided in to two categories *Saudāyika* and *Asaudāyika.* Free gifts of affection given by relations like the father, the mother or the husband were included in first category –

ऊढया कन्यया वापि पत्यु पितृगृहेऽथवा
भ्रातु सकाशात्पित्रोर्वा लब्धं सौदायिकं स्मृतम् [12]

And were declared to be under the complete control of women –

सौदायिकं धनं प्राप्य स्त्रीणां स्वातन्त्र्यमिष्यते [13].

The rest of *strīdhana* was *asaudāyika;* women could not alienate it, but only enjoy it during their life time. Kātyāyana holds that women possess the power of sale and mortgage even over the immovable properties included in there *strīdhana* –

सौदायिकं सदा स्त्रीणां स्वातन्त्र्यं परिकीर्तितम् ।
विक्रये चैव दाने च यथेच्छं स्थावरेष्वपि ।।[14]

Strīdhana is recognized as a woman to property on the basis of sources from which the property was acquired, her status at the time of acquisition and the school to which she belongs. A woman had the absolute right of ownership over the *strīdhana*. It means that she could dispose of the property at her pleasure.

12 Kātyāyana in *Dāyabhāga* 1.94
13 *Ibid*
14 *Ibid*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Sanskrit Jurists were unanimous in giving to women full proprietary rights over the *strīdhana* in its wider sense. Deval has expressly declared that the husband has no right to lay his hand upon it. If he want to utilise it for his own purpose, he had to return with interest-

वृथादाने च भोगे च स्त्रियै दध्यात्सवृद्धिकम् [15]

If the family was in great distress, the husband could utilise his wife's *strīdhana* to tide over the difficulty. No other member of the family could do so-

दुर्भिक्षे धर्मकार्ये च व्याधौ सम्प्रतिरोधके ।
गृहीतं स्त्रीधनं भर्ता न स्त्रियै दातुमर्हति ।।[16]

The *Mitākṣarā* explains –

भर्तुव्यतिरेकेण जीवन्त्या धनं न केनापि दायादेन ग्रहितव्यम् ।[17]

Sanskrit jurists from early times lay down that *strīdhana* should devolve upon daughters. It is true that if they had devolved upon sons, their wives could very well have utilised the article concerned. But women feel a greater affection for their daughters than for their daughters-in-law and this circumstance determined the line of the succession. The unmarried daughters were to be preferred to the married ones and among the latters the first claim was of those who was not well to do-

अप्रजस्त्रीधनं भर्तुर्ब्राह्मादिषु चतुर्ष्वपि
दुहितॄणां प्रसूता चेच्छेशेषु पितृगामि तत् ।।[18]

The *Mitākāṣarā* explains –

तत्र चोढानूढासमवाये अनूढैव गृह्णाति । तदभावे च परिणीता ।
तत्रापि प्रतिष्ठिताऽप्रतिष्ठितासमवायेऽप्रतिष्ठिता गृह्णाति । तदभावे प्रतिष्ठिता ।।[19]

The above discussion shows that Vijñāneśvara had used one of usual devices of Sanskrit commentators in order to enlarge the scope of *strīdhana*. The credit of liberalising the *strīdhana* belongs to him.

15. Deval, quoted in *Vyavahāramayūkha* p. 98
16. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* II. 147.
17. *Mitākṣarā* on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* II. 147
18. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* II. 145
19. *Mitākṣarā* on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* II. 145

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

The hisory of *strīdhana* is undoubtedly a proud and glorious chapter in the story ancient Indian judiciary. It discloses a constant and continuous tendency in Indian society to increase the scope of *strīdhana*, usually at the expense of mens rights.

3. Inheritance and Partition

Inheritance is most dominant concept of proprietary rights of women's. We have discussed in last two sections about ownership of family property and evolution of *strīdhana.* In this section we shall discuss on inheritance which is undoubtedly more important than the right to *strīdhana.* A reference has been already made to an old saying that a son, a wife and a slave can own no property independently of father, husband and master-

भार्या पुत्रश्च दासश्च त्रयः एवाधना स्मृता ।
यत्ते समधिगच्छन्ति यस्य ते तस्य तद्धनम् ।।[20]

In more than one place in the later Vedic literature we come across the view that women have no rights of inheritance –

तस्मात्स्त्रियो निरिन्द्रिया अदायादीः ।[21]
ता (स्त्रियः) नात्मनश्चैशत न दायस्य ।[22]

The very conception of *strīdhana* shows that women could normally get property only by way of gifts from their relations at or subsequent to their marriage. There was no possibility of their acquiring any estate either by inheritance or by partition. Among the female heirs the brotherless daughter was the first to succeed in establishing her rights of inheritance. Circumstances were more favourable for the recognition her right then that of the wife or the widow.

---

20. *Manusmṛti* VIII, 416.
21. *Taittirīyasaṃhitā* VI. 5.8.
22. *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* VI. 4.2.13

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

As shown in the last section the wife could advance no claim in competition with her husband. The widow often used to marry or get to son by *Niyoga*; so the problem of her inheritance did not arise in any acute form. So a brotherless sister was the first to get the right of inheritance recognised.

A. Brotherless Daughter's Right of Inheritance

There is evidence to show that the right of brotherless sister to inherit father's estate continued to be recognised down to c. 400 B.C. In the *Therīgāthā* come to across interesting incident. We find a mother trying to dissuade her daughter Sundarī from entering the nunnery by pointing out that she had become a full heir to her father's extensive estate as the latter had become a monk. She should therefore think of marriage and pleasure and note of nunnery and penance –

पिता पब्बजितो तुम्हं भुंज भोगानि सुन्दरि त्वं दायादिका कुले[23]

It is clear from this story that brotherless daughter was recognised as an heir in North Eastern India during the 5th B.C.

The majority of jurists however wanted to continue the old tradition and allowed the daughter to inherit her patrimony, if there was no son. The *Māhābhārāta*, in one place maintains that it would be manifestly unfair and inequitable to allow subsidiary son to get an inheritance when there was a daughter to claim it –

यथैवात्मा तथा पुत्रः पुत्रेण दुहिता समा ।
तस्यात्मनि तिष्ठन्त्यो कथमन्या धनं हरेत् ।।[24]

She must be at least get half the property, if not what the whole-

अभातृका समाग्राह्या चार्धार्हित्यपरे विदुः ।[25]

Kauṭilya is also inclined to recognise the daughter as an heir, though perhaps to a smaller share. Yājñavalkya if may be expected warmly champions the cause of daughter and lays down that she should be the next heir after the son and widow-

23. *Therīgāthā*, No. 127
24. *Mahābhārata* XIII. 80.21
25. *Ibid* XIII. 80.22

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

अप्रजस्त्रीधनं भर्तुर्ब्राह्मादिषु चतुर्ष्वपि ।
दुहितृणां प्रसूता चेच्छेषेशु पितृगामि तत् ।।[26]

There was a school of jurists which suggested that a brotherless sister should be regarded as an heir only till she was married and well settled in life. Hindu society however refuses to accept this opinion and the school of Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Bṛhaspati eventually carried the day. From century 500 A.D. nobody has called into question a daughter's right to inherit her father's property in the absence of a brother. The right has been recognised by modern court.

B. Daughters with Brother Rights of Inheritance –

It is now considered the right of inheritance of a daughter who has brother. Patriarchal tradition was reigning supreme at the down of the Aryan history, and they were not favourable for the recognition of a daughter's right of inheritance in competition with a brother. A Vedic stanza expressly refers to an old maiden claiming her share in her patrimony –

अमाजुरिव पित्रो सचा सती समानादा सदसस्त्वामिये भगम् ।
कृधि प्रकेतमुप मास्या भर दद्धि भागं तन्वा येन मामहः ।।[27]

However if daughters get married then they did not get any share in their patrimony. A Vedic poet expressly informs the brother that he should not give any share to his sister; she has after all migrated to a different family-

न जामये तान्वो रिक्मारैक् चकार गर्भं सनितुर्निधानम् ।[28]

The general opinion of hindu society was that sister should not get any share in the patrimony if they had brothers. This opinion of *Dharmaśāstra* literature and Kauṭilya concurs with it. It is Śukrācārya the famous teacher of *Asuras* loved his daughter Devayānī dearer than his own life. It is therefore in the fitness of things

26. *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* II.145
27. *Ibid.* II.17.7
28. *Ibid.* III.31.2

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

that he should have been the only Smṛti writer to assign small share to the daughter even when she had brothers. Śukra lays down that if a person divides his property in his own life he should assign equal share each to his wife and son, half a share to his daughters and one fourth share to his daughters', son. If the division took place after his death the sister was to get one eighth the share of his of the brother. Śukra seems to be on the jurists who favoured the pose of a daughter's share in her patrimony even if she were not brotherless

समानभागा वै कार्याः पुत्र स्वस्य च वै स्त्रियः ।
स्वभागार्धहरा कन्या दिहित्रस्तु तदर्धभाक् ।।
मृताधिपे तु पुत्राद्या उक्तभागहराः स्मृताः ।
मात्रे दद्यातच्चतुर्थांश भगिन्यै मातुरर्धिकम् ।।[29]

Nārada expressly declares that the daughter's share in patrimony was intended only for her maintenance till her marriage. If father died before his daughters had been married, the son was found to spend a reasonable amount for their suitable marriage out of the family estate

A general rule, however has been led down that a brother should spend for his sister's marriage an amount equal to a one fourth share –

असंस्कृता तु संस्कार्या भ्रातृभिः पूर्वसंस्कृतैः ।
भगिन्यश्च निजादशांद्त्वांशं तु तुरीयकम् ।।[30]

Some jurists go to the extent by laying down that even if there was no family estate the brother had to meet the marriage expenses of his sister from his self acquired property-

If the family property was extensive and reasonable expenses of suitable marriage did not amount to the legal one fourth shares, the sister would not take away unspent balance and with her -

29. *Śukranīti* IV.5.299-300
30. *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* II.124

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

तस्मात्संकारोपयुक्तद्रव्यस्यैव दानमात्रं विवक्षितम् । अनूढा इति विशेषोपादानाच्च विवाहार्थं न पुत्रभ्रातृणामिव दुहितृणां दायविभागार्थमिति गम्यते ।[31]

C. Widow's Rights of Inheritance

The property rights of wife during the covertures' have been already considered in the last section we should discuss now her rights during widowhood. Let us first take up the question of right inherit in her husband's property.

We have already seen that there was a general prejudice in early times against allowing women to inherit property. Even the wife, who was regarded as the husband joint-owner in the family property, had only very limited right against her concert. It is no wonder that for a long time widow's right to inherit husband's property should have remained recognised. This declares women are incapable to be inheriting any property – तस्मात्स्त्रियो निरिन्द्रिया अदायादी ।[32]

In early times the custom of *Niyoga* was very common so widow without sons were very few. A vast majority of widows therefore used to get their husband's share if not directly as their share, at least indirectly as guardian of their minor son .Very often they used to marry, and so the question of giving them a share in their husband's property would not arise at all. We therefore find that down to c. 300 B.C. the right of widow to husband property was not recognised by any jurist. Vedic texts were definitely opposed to this right. Most of the *sūtra* writers adopted the same attitude. Āpastamba lays down that in the absence of the son the property should devolve not upon the widow but the nearest male *sapiṇḍa*. The same is the case with the Manu, he lays down that the property of a sonless person will first devolve upon his father, then upon his brother and finally upon a *sapiṇḍa* and *sakulya* in accordance to his propinquity –

पिता हरेदपुत्रस्य रिक्थं भ्रातर एव च ।।
अनन्तरः सपिण्डाद्यस्तस्य तस्य हरेद्धनम्
अत उर्ध्वं सकुल्य स्यादाचार्यः शिष्य एवं वा ।।[33]

---

31 *Vīramitrodaya- Vyavahāraparīkṣā* pg.582
32 *Taittirīyasaṁhitā*, VI.5.8.2
33 *Manusmṛti*, X.185, 187.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

There can be no doubt that Medhātithi, the ninth century commentator of Manu is correct when he maintains that Manu has not recognised the widow as an heir at all-

अतो यन्मेधातिथिना पत्नीनामंशभागित्वं निषिद्धमुक्तं तदसम्बद्धम् । पत्नीनामंशभागित्वं बृहस्पत्यादि-संमतम् । मेधातिथिर्निराकुर्वन्न प्रीणाति सतां मनः ।[34]

Early *Dharmsūtra* writers, however, were inclined to assign only maintenance to the widow. This is case with Kauṭilya also who presscribes the widow maintenance to be charged upon the husband's estate where it was resumed by the state –

अदायादकं राजा हरेत्स्त्रीवृत्तिप्रेतकदर्यवर्जम् ।[35]

It was, however, being felt that this was not satisfactory arrangement. Jurists gradually began to come forward to plea for a better recognition of the widow's claim. Gautama puts forth a modest proposal that the widow should be regarded as a coheir with other *sapiṇḍa-*

पिण्डगोत्रर्षिसम्बन्धा रिक्तं भजेरन्स्त्री चानपत्यस्य ।[36]

In course of time the opinion in favour of recognition of the widows right began to grow stronger. Why should she get only a portion of husband's estate not the whole of it? It was felt that she ought to be the sole heir not coheir. This view has been for first time advocated by Viṣṇu in the beginning of Christian era. He definitely lays down that the widow shall inherit the whole estate on failure of sons-

अपुत्रस्य धनं पत्यभिगामि । तदभावे दुहितृगामि ।[37]

About a couple of centuries later Yājñavalkya joined Viṣṇu in championing the widow's right; It is his verses which were mainly relied upon by british courts, when they recognised the right of inheritance of widows after the failures of sons-

34. Kullukabhaṭṭa on *Manusmṛti* X. 187.
35. *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* III.5.
36. *Gautama smṛti*, XVII.43.
37 *Ibid*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

पत्नी दुहितरश्चैव भ्रातरस्तथा ।
तत्सुता गोत्रजा बन्धुशिष्यसब्रह्मचारिणः ।।
एषामभावे पूर्वस्य धनभागुत्तरोत्तरः ।
स्वर्यातस्य ह्यपुत्रस्य सर्ववर्णेष्वयं विधिः ।।[38]

It may be pointed out that the Upniṣadic sage Yājñyavalkya had divided his property between two wives when he had pronounced the world. It would therefore appear that Yājñyavalkya School, since early days was more favourably inclined to recognise women's rights than was the case with other jurists. It insisted that the widows, right to inherit the full share should be recognised. It based its case on logic and reason. Bṛhaspati pointed out that the Vedas, the Smṛtis and the sags of antiquity have anonymously declared that the husband and the wife are joint owner of family property and together constitute one legal personality. A man therefore cannot be said to be completely dead as long as his wife is alive. How can then property pass upon another in the life time of the widow –

आम्नाये स्मृति तन्त्रे च पूर्वाचार्यैश्च सूरिभिः ।
शरीरार्ध स्मृता भार्या पुण्यापुण्यफले समा ।।
यस्य नोपरता भार्या देहार्धं तस्य जीवति ।
जीवत्यर्ध शरीरे तु कथमन्यः स्वमाप्नुयात् ।।[39]

In *Mitākṣarā* Vṛddhinamanu points out that the widow can offer funeral oblation to husband and so she should be allowed to inherit his property-

अपुत्राः शयनं भर्तुः पालयन्ती पतिव्रता ।
पत्येव दद्यात पण्डिं कृत्स्नमंशं हरेत च ।।[40]

To remove any doubt in this matter Prajāpati lays down that the widow has a neutral right in husband property including movable and immovable, bullion, ornament stores etc. her right is not in the least affected even if the elderly relations, male or female are alive. She will of course show them proper reverence but hold the property in her own possession. If any male relation obstructs her peaceful enjoyment of estate it is the bounden duty of a king to punish him as a thief –

38. *Viṣṇu smṛti*, II.135-136.
39. Quoted in *Dāyabhāga* Section , XI.
40. *Mitākṣarā* on *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, II.135-136

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

स्थावरं जंगमं हेमं कुप्यं धान्यरसाम्बरं ।
आदाय दापयेच्छ्राद्धं माससंवत्सरादिकम् ।।
पितृव्यगुरुदौहित्रान्भर्त स्वस्त्रीमातुलान् ।
पूजयेत्कव्यपूर्ताभ्यां वृद्धनाथातिथांस्तथा ।।
तत्सपिण्डा ब्राह्मणा वा ये तस्या परिपंथिनः ।
हिस्युर्धनानि तान् राजा चौरदण्डेन शासयेत् ।।

The *Mitākṣarā* School recognised the widow's right of inheritance only if her husband had separated from joint family before his death. An examination of context of the verse in which Yājñavalkya mentions widow is an next heir makes it clear that he intended to recognise her right only if her husband was not a member of joint family at the time of his death. This confusion becomes further irresistible from verse 138 where Yājñavalkya lays down that when member of a family have reunited after separation the surviving male coparceners will succeed the deceased and not his wife. Vijñāneśvara therefore corrects and holds that according to Yājñavalkya only the widow of a separated coparceners can become an heir to her husband -

तस्मादपुत्रस्य स्वर्यातस्य विभक्तस्य असंसृष्टिनस्तु धनं परिणीता स्त्री संयता सकलमेव गृह्णाति इति स्थितम् । संसृष्टिनस्तु संसृष्टी सोदरस्य तु सोदरः ।[41]

The *Dāyabhāga* law undoubtedly marks a further step explaining the widow's right. It lays down that the widow can get her husband's share in family property even if he happened to be a member of joint family at the time of his death. Jimūtavāhana, the founder of the *Dāyabhāga* school relies upon text of Bṛhaspati which is silent about separation and declares that the property of a person can devolve upon his brother only when he dies without leaving a son or a widow behind –

यदा कश्चित्प्रमीयेत प्रव्रजेद्वा कथंचन ।
न लुप्यते तस्य भागः सोदरस्य विधीयते ।।
अनपत्यस्य धर्मोऽयमभार्यापितृकस्य च ।[42]

---

41 *Ibid.*
42 Quoted in *Dāyabhāga* Section , XI

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

In long discussion the subject in the *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara also now states or hints the widow as a limited heir having no right to dispose of Corpus of his property. In concluding sentence of his discussion he states "therefore the chaste and regularly married wife of a person who died without leaving behind any son and who had separated from the joint family and not reunited with it inherits his entire property-

तस्मादपुत्रस्य स्वर्यातस्य विभक्तस्यासंसृष्टिनस्तु धनं परिणीता स्त्री सकलमेव गृह्णाति ।[43]

A member of other jurists however declared definitely that the widow has a limited heir. An authority quoted by *Mahābhārata* states that the widow can only utilise the income of the property she has inherited. She can under no circumstances dispose of it-

अपुत्राः शयनं भर्तुः पालयन्ती पतिव्रता ।
लभेतामरणात्क्षान्ता दायादा ऊर्ध्वमाप्नुंयुः ।।[44]

Bṛhaspati, we have seen was a favourite champion of widow's right but even he expressively declared that her power over her inheritance is limited. She cannot sell, mortgage or gift it away. He however permits a gift for religious purpose which presumably was to be a small portion only –

मृते भर्तरि भर्त्रंशं लभेत कुलपालिका
यावज्जीवं हीनस्वाम्यं दानाधमनविक्रये
व्रतोपवासनिरता ब्रह्मचर्ये व्यवस्थिता
धर्मदानरता नित्यमपुत्रापि दिवं व्रजेत ।[45]

To conclude, we find that even sum of varnish champion of widow's rights of inheritance like Bṛhaspati definitely declares her to be limited here, while others like Yājñavalkya and Viṣṇu are mainly silent on the point. No one specially invest her with the power of disposal of immovable property in her inheritance gift for religion purpose being the only exception. There was a text of Bṛhaspati which points out that the widow was already permitted to gift away a portion of her property for religious and spiritual purpose.

43. *Mitākṣarā* on *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, II.136
44. *Smṛticandrikā Vyavahārakhaṇḍa*, Pg. 677.
45. *Ibid.*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Conclusion:

We must remember that women have done greater service to religion than men by preserving the old religious tradition, moral fervour and spiritual vein in Indian society. If an effort is made to spread a rational knowledge of the fundamental principles of Hinduism among women, they would undoubtedly become much better representatives of our culture and religion than what men are today.

It will be thus seen from the above survey that the proprietary rights of women have been developing fairly satisfactorily in Indian intellectual tradition. The Smṛtis and commentaries repeatedly stated that customs would override the written text. This principle made the Hindu law dynamic, because customs kept changing as society progressed. Also, as explained by the Vīramitrodaya, the difference in the Smṛtis was in part due to different local customs. Medhātithī in his commentary on the *Manusmṛti* wrote that the Smṛtis were only codifications of the existing customs, and the same has been said in the *Smṛticandrikā* (which is the basic text of the Dravid school of *Mitākṣarā*) and the *Vyavahāra Mayūkha* (which is a basic text of the Bombay school of *Mitākṣarā*). This, however, is not a very accurate view. Though no doubt the *Smṛtikāras* and commentators relied heavily on customs, they also used their creativity to develop the law to make it more just and rational according to their own notions. As circumstances changed, they were being enlarged by Sanskrit jurists without any agitation whatever on the part of women. The courage that was shown in investing the women with the right of inheritance and partition even when her elderly relations like brothers-in-law were alive, was really of a high order, when we consider the prevailing patriarchal atmosphere in society. The Hindu Women's Right to Property Act of 1937 extends the *Mitākṣarā* and *Dāyabhāga* principle to the whole of British India, and invests the women with the right to inherit her husband's share in the family jiroperty, irrespective of the consideration as to whether he had effected a separation from the joint family or not. Thus we can say every culture has its limitations and loopholes but all about the Sanskrit jurists must be laid down that they were more conscious on the proprietary rights of women in ownership, inheritance and partition than any other ancient scholars of any culture on this globe.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

References:

- Altekar, A. S. , *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, Motilal Banarsidas Publishers, New Delhi, 2014.
- Apte Prabha, Women in Indian Society. Concordia Publishing House, New Delhi: 1996.
- Bader, C.. *Women in Ancient India* Trubner's Oriental Series, Routledge, 2013.
- Bhatt, Devana, Shrinavasachar, L., *Smṛticandrikā,* Wentworth Press, 2019.
- Chandra, Ishwar, *Ṛgveda,*Parimal Publication, New Delhi, 2011.
- Chattopadhaya,B.& Roy, Kumkum, *Women in Early Indian Societies* Manohar Publishers and Distributors, Delhi, 2002.
- Chaudhary, J.B.,*The Contribution of Women to Sanskrit Literature,* Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 2002.
- Dutt, M.N. (Edi), *Mahābhārata of Vyāsa*, Parimal Publication, New Delhi, 2008.
- Gupta, Amith Kumar, *Women and Society - The Developmental Perspective*, Creterian Publication, New Delhi 1986.
- Horner,I.B., *Women under Primitive Buddhism*, Gutenberg Publishers, London, 1936.
- Janapathy, Varalakshmi, *Indian Women: Through the Ages*, Gyan Publishing House, Delhi, 2002.
- Jolly, Julius., *Bṛhaspati Smṛti*, Oxfort University Press, New York, 1889
- Jolly, Jullius, *Hindu Law and Custom*, Eng. trans. by Batakrishna Ghosh, Bhartiya Publishing House, Varanasi, 1975.
- Jolly, Julius, *Viṣṇu Smṛti,* Asiatic Socity, Calcutta, 1881.
- Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Insitute, Pune, 2006.
- Kanti A., *Women and the Law*, Central Low Agency, Allahabad, 2003.
- Kashyap, R.L., *Taittirīya Saṁhitā,* Sri Arbindo Kapali Shashtri Institute of Vedic Culture, Banglore, 2005.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

- Majumdar, M. *Social Status of Women in India,* Sujana Books, Delhi, India, 2004.
- Mccrindle, Jhon,W., *Ancient India: As Described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 2000.
- Mccrindle, Jhon,W., *Ancient India and its Invasion by Alexander the Great*, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 2003.
- Meyer,John, Jakob, *Sexual life in Ancient India,* Life Span Publisher,Delhi, 2014.
- Mishra, Mandan, *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra,* Shri Lal Bahadur Shashtri Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth, New Delhi, 2009
- Mitter, Dwaraka Nath, *Position of Women in Hindu Law*, 2nd edition, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, India, 2006.
- Nakre, M.G., Lele, V.R. (Edi.), *Vyavahāra Mayūkha of Neel Bhatta*, Nag Publisher, 1923
- Nandal, V., & Rajnish, *Status of Women through Ages in India.* International Research Journal of Social Sciences, 3(1), 21-26, 2014.
- Narayanan, Selvaraj,*Historical Background of Gender Equality and Succession Right of Hindu Women's Right of Property in Tamil Nadu,* Intel Prop Rights. 4: 162, 2016.
- Padia, Chandrakala, *Women in Dharmaśāstras: A Phenomenological and Critical Analysis,* Rawat Publications,Jaipur, 2009.
- Panday, Rajbali, *Hindu Saṅskāra*, Chaukhambha Publication, New Delhi, 2014.
- Pandey, Umesh Chandra, *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra,* Chaukhambha Sanskrit Pratisthan, Delhi, 2006.
- Pandey, Umesh Chandra, *Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra,* Chaukhambha Sanskrit Pratisthan, Delhi,
- Pathak, Amal Shib, *Kāma Sūtra of Vātsyāyana*, Choukhambha Publication, Delhi, 2014
- Rocher, Ludo, *Jīmūtvāhana's Dāyabhāga,*Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2002.
- Salawade, S. N. , *Status of Women in Ancient India: The Vedic Period,* Indian Streams Research Journal, 2(8) 1-3, 2012.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

- Sarkar, Binoy Kumar, *Śukra Nīti,* J.P. Publishing House, Delhi, 2018.
- Shastri, Narayan, *Yājñavalkya Smṛti (With Commentary Vīrmitrodaya of Sri Niwas Mishra)*, Choukhambha Publication, Delhi, 1991.
- Singh, Vijay Laxmi, *Women and Gender in Ancient India: A Study of Text and Inscription from Mauryan to Early Medieval India,* Aryan Books International, New Delhi,2014.
- Swain, Braja Kishor, *Nārada Smṛti,* Choukhambha Publication, Delhi, 2015
- Swami, Satyaprakash, *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, Vijaykumar Govindram Hasanand, Delhi, 2018.
- Upadhyaya, Bhagavati Saran, *Women in Rigveda*, Khama Publication, New Delhi, 1994.
- Upadhyaya Bharat Singh, *Therīgāthā*, Gautam Book Center Delhi, 2010.
- Utpreti, Thanesh Chandra, *Yājñavalkya Smṛti (With Commentary Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara* , Parimal Publication Private Limited, New Delhi, 2011.
- Vidyachandra, Kashiratna, *Manu Smṛti*, Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, New Delhi, 2012.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

NĀNUKĀRA ITI BHRAMITAVYAM –ABHINAVAGUPTA ON THE NATURE OF *NĀṬYA*

Mayank Shekhar*

Abstract: The *Nāṭyaśāstra* – the Ur text of Indian performative art of Bharatamuni conceives *nāṭya* as an *anukaraṇa* of the world consisting of various emotions. He also informs that *nāṭya* is an *anukīrtana* of the three worlds. Reading the sections of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* raises a pertinent question that what is the status of *nāṭya*? Is it an *anukaraṇa* or *anukīrtana* of the three worlds? Abhinavagupta (10th century CE) is one of the most illustrious thinkers of early medieval India who shaped the debate of Indian aesthetical tradition to a large extent. The works of Abhinavagupta have attracted scholars across the globe for its conceptual richness, rigorous philosophical ideas and complex entanglement of philosophy, aesthetics, and mysticism. It is hardly an exaggeration to state that Abhinavagupta is one of the transformative figures in the long history of Indian aesthetics. Abhinavagupta in his *Abhinavabhāratī* – a commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* - offers a very resounding critic of the theory which considers '*nāṭya* as an *anukāra* or *anukaraṇa*'.

The paper primarily aims to revisit the ingenious ideas and arguments build up by Abhinavagupta in his *Abhinavabhāratī* against the view which considers *nāṭya* as *anukāra* or *anukaraṇa*. The paper also spells out Abhinavagupta's delineation of *nāṭya* as a matter of special cognition which takes the form of apperception/re-perception (*anuvyavasāya-viśeṣa*).

Key Words: Bharatamuni, *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Abhinavagupta, *Abhinavabhāratī*, *Nāṭya*, *Anukaraṇa*, *Anukīrtana*, *Anuvyavasāya*

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO. 124, Vol. 69, 2020, pp. 117-136.

* School of Historical Studies, Nalanda University, Rajgir, Bihar, Email: mayank.shekhar@nalandauniv.edu.in, Mobile: 09711055441

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Introduction

Indic tradition conceives art (*kalā*) as a knowledge system which conduces to fulfilling the four ends of human life. In other words, in art there lies an efficacy to lead towards our final aims - *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, and *mokṣa*. But 'what is its ontological status' – this question requires serious deliberation.

The first clear reference regarding this question is found in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* which states that there are work of art of gods, (*devaśilpa*) and *anukṛti*[1] of these works of art here (in this world) a work of art is accomplished; an elephant, a goblet, a garment, a gold object, a mule chariot are works of art.[2]

Commenting on this portion, Sāyaṇa (16th century commentator) distinguishes between two-fold division of art, namely, the art of god (*devaśilpa*) and the art of human (*mānuṣaśilpa*). He further goes to make a clear distinction between the two works of art. The work of art like *nābhānediṣṭha* are known as the art of god (*devaśilpa*) since they are the cause for delight to gods; on the other hand, *anukṛti* of these art of god in this human world are known as art of human (*mānuṣaśilpa*) which are nothing but similar to those (art of god).[3]

The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* confirms the same thing when it says that 'this is divine lute' and '*anukṛti* of this (divine lute) is known as worldly lute'.[4]

To unfold its meaning, once again we have to depend on the commentary of Sāyaṇa who clearly states that there are two types of lute in this world, one is the 'divine lute' made by god, and the second is that lute which consists of wood and made by human known as 'human lute'. This human lute is *anukṛti* of the divine

---

1. The term *anukṛti* has been translated as 'imitation' or 'mimesis' by the modern scholars which is not proper in Indian performative context. I, in this paper would prefer to use original Sanskrit terms like *anukṛti*, *anukaraṇa*, *anukīrtana*, and *anuvyavasāya* rather to use their English equivalents.
2. शिल्पानि शंसन्ति देवशिल्पान्येतेषां वै शिल्पानां अनुकृतीह शिल्पमधिगम्यते हस्ती कंसो वासो हिरण्यमश्वतरीरथः शिल्पं शिल्पं ह्यास्मिन्नधिगम्यते.....। *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* VI.5.1
3. शिल्पशब्दश्च आश्चर्यकरं कर्म ब्रूते । तच्च शिल्पं द्विविधम् - देवशिल्पं मानुषशिल्पश्चेति । नाभानेदिष्ठादीनि यानि शिल्पानि सन्ति, तानि देवानां प्रीतिहेतुत्वात् देवशिल्पानीत्युच्यते । एतेषाम् एव देवशिल्पानाम् 'अनुकृति' सदृशरूपम् 'इह' मनुष्यलोके शिल्पम् अधिगम्यते प्रतीयते । commentary on the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VI.5.1
4. अथ खल्वियं दैवी वीणा भवति तदनुकृति असौ मानुषी वीणा भवति । *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* 3/2/5

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

lute. That is to say, the creation of this (human) lute is possible only by following the divine one.[5]

Sāyaṇa at both places takes *anukṛti* in the sense of similarity (*sadṛśarūpa*) or following the original one. In fact, Sāyaṇa (16th century commentator) is just invoking the entire tradition by accepting this meaning of the term. Patañjali (150 B.C.) in his *magnum opus Mahābhāṣya* explicates that *anukaraṇa* of cultured people is considered good and it brings merit; while *anukaraṇa* of those actions which are not cultured but unprohibited, brings neither merit nor demerit. Citing examples, he says that a man performs charity, rituals, and studies the Vedas in the same way by doing *anukaraṇa* of another man and obtains merit. On the other hand, sometimes a man does *anukaraṇa* of such actions like hiccoughing, laughing, or scratching in the same manner as another man does. Such actions are although not cultured but unprohibited. It brings neither merit nor demerit.[6]

The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, an encyclopedic text makes an abstruse statement when it says that it is indeed difficult to understand *citrasūtra* – the art of painting without a proper understanding of *nṛtta*, the art of dancing; (because) O King! in both (i.e. in painting and dancing) an *anukriyā* of the world is prescribed.[7] At another place, it again emphasizes the same notion by saying that (this art of painting) has been grasped by imperishable Viśvakarman and as in *nṛtta* (dance), so in *citra* (painting), *anukṛti* of the three worlds is declared.[8]

Exploring the history of the term *anukṛti/anukaraṇa/anukriyā* and from the above references, it becomes clear that the meaning of the term *anukṛti/anukaraṇa* is

---

5. खलुशब्दो वीणाप्रसिद्ध्यर्थः । इयमस्माभिर्दृयमाना शरीररूपा दैवी देवनिर्मिता काचिद्वीणा विद्यते । न हि देवव्यतिरेकेण कश्चिदपीमं देहं निर्मातुं क्षमते । या तु गायकैर्धार्यमाणा काष्ठमयी वीणा सा तु मनुष्यैर्निर्मितत्वा-न्मानुषी । असौ च तदनकृतिर्भवति । तां दैवीं वीणामनुसृत्य कृतिर्निष्पादनं यस्याः सा तदनुकृतिः, तत्सदृशीत्यर्थः ॥ commentary on the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* 3/2/5

6. अनुकरणं हि शिष्टस्य साधु भवति, अशिष्टस्य अप्रतिषिद्धस्य वा नैव तद्दोषाय नाभ्युदयाय । यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु कृतान्तेषु । लोके तावत् - य एवमसौ ददाति, य एवमसौ यजते, य एवमसावधीते - इति तस्यानुकुर्वन् दधाच्च यजेत वाऽधीयीत च सोऽप्यभ्युदयेन युज्यते । .....अशिष्टाप्रतिषिद्धं - य एवमसौ हिक्कति, य एवमसौ हसति, य एवमसौ कण्डूयति - इति तस्यान्कुर्वन् हिक्केच्च हसेच्च कण्डूयेच्च नैव तद्दोषाय स्यात् नाभ्युदयाय । *Mahābhāṣya* I.4.62

7. विना तु नृत्तशास्त्रेण चित्रसूत्रसुदुर्विदम् । जगतोऽनुक्रिया कार्या द्वयोरपि यतो नृप ॥ *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, III.2.4

8. ग्राहयामास स तदा विश्वकर्माणमच्युतम् । यथा नृत्ते तथा चित्रे त्रैलोक्यानुकृति स्मृताः ॥ *ibid.*, III.35.5

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

'creation of similar things' or 'following the action of' (someone). The terms *anukṛti/anukaraṇa/anukriyā* has been translated as mimesis or imitation. Mimesis or imitation are the Western terminology having a different history. On comparative study of the two terms, it becomes clear that they are similar but not quite the same. V K Chari (1993) in his book entitled *Sanskrit Criticism* draws our attention towards the differences between the two terms, namely, *mimesis* (or imitation) and *anukṛti* (or *anukaraṇa*) as follows -

In the West, "imitation" and "mimetic illusion" have long served as useful criteria for defining literature. In Sanskrit criticism, too, the notions of imitation and fictionality were entertained by many theorists before Abhinavagupta. Bharata spoke of drama as mimetic reproduction (*anukaraṇa*). But this term was largely used in the context of theatre; it was nowhere offered as a definition of poetry as a verbal composition. ...In any case, Abhinavagupta rejects both the theory of drama as imitation and its implications of fictionality and representational illusion. Mimetic terms, such as "likeness making" (*sādṛśya-karaṇa*), "similitude" (*sādṛśya*), and "correspondent form" (*pratirūpam*, *pratimā*, *pratikṛti*), are employed in Sanskrit treatise on art in the context of portrait painting and sculpture. The sacred images were, thought of, however, not as "likenesses" of any visible models but as symbolic representations of certain concepts, designed in accordance with canonical prescriptions.[9]

This paper primarily aims to revisit the ingenious ideas and arguments build up by Abhinavagupta in his *Abhinavabhāratī* against the view which considers *nāṭya* as *anukāra* or *anukaraṇa*. Abhinavagupta (10th century CE) is one of the most illustrious thinkers of early medieval India who shaped the debate of Indian aesthetical tradition to a large extent. The works of Abhinavagupta have attracted scholars across the globe for its conceptual richness, rigorous philosophical ideas and complex entanglement of philosophy, aesthetics, and mysticism. It is hardly an exaggeration to state that Abhinavagupta is one of the transformative figures in the long history of Indian aesthetics. Arindam Chakrabarti (2006:304) calls the study of Abhinavagupta's works "a form of self-transforming meditation, a tasting of the tranquility of repose".

9. Chari, V. K., *Sanskrit Criticism*, p. 256

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* (hereafter, NŚ) mentions that Bharatamuni, having learnt the *Nāṭyaveda* from Brahmā, taught its essence to his hundred sons and approached Brahmā again along with Svāti and Nārada. He then addressed Brahmā that dramatic art has been fully grasped by him and his sons. Brahmā replied to him that now you should exhibit your skills of dramatic art in the ongoing festival of Indra. At this occasion, a drama entitled *Dhvaja Mahotsava* has been performed by Bharatamuni and his hundred sons in which a victory of gods over demons has been shown. Seeing their own defeat, demons got angry, and tried to destroy the performance. Demons with their leader Virūpākṣa went to Brahmā to register their complaint. Virūpākṣa told Brahmā that you are the creator of gods as well as demons. The dramatic art which has been taught by you and performed by the sons of Bharatamuni put us in an unfavorable situation. Such performance should not be done since we as well as gods are your sons. Hearing the words of Virūpākṣa, Brahma told him to abandon their anger over the gods because the *Nāṭyaveda* which has been taught by me (to Bharatamuni) marked by the dichotomy of unleashing of good and bad fortunes of demons as well as gods and based on actions and emotions.[10] There is no exclusive representation of either demons or gods rather it is an *anukīrtana* (re-statement or re-narration) of emotive states of all the three worlds.[11] This drama which has been illustrated by me is full of various emotions, stages, and *anukaraṇa* (imitation) of this world.[12]

Abhinavagupta in his *Abhinavabhāratī* – a commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* - offers a very resounding critic of the theory which considers '*nāṭya* as an *anukaraṇa*'. Building his arguments against this theory, Abhinavagupta clearly mentions that this has been beautifully explained by his teacher Bhaṭṭa Tota in his *Kāvyakautuka*.[13] Bhaṭṭa Tota had written a text entitled *Kāvyakautuka* (The

---

10. भवतां देवतानां च शुभाशुभविकल्पकः । कर्मभावान्वयापेक्षी नाट्यवेदो मया कृतः ॥ NŚ I.106
11. नैकान्ततोऽत्र भवतां देवानां चानुभावनम् । त्रैलोकस्यास्य सर्वस्य नाट्यं भावानुकीर्तनम् ॥ NŚ I.107
12. नानाभावोपसम्पन्नं नानावस्थान्तरात्मकम् । लोकवृत्तानुकरणं नाट्यमेतन्मयाकृतम् ॥ NŚ I.112
13. At the very beginning of his *Abhinavabhāratī*, Abhinavagupta informs that he learnt *Nāṭyaveda* (an oral body of knowledge of performing art) from Bhaṭṭa Tota.

    सद्भिप्रतोतवदनोदितनाट्यवेद तत्त्वार्थमर्थिजनवाञ्छितसिद्धिहेतोः ।

    माहेश्वराभिनवगुप्तपदप्रतिष्ठः संक्षिप्तवृत्तिविधिना विशदीकरोति ॥ *Abhinavabhāratī* 1.4

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

wonder of Poetry) dealing with the issues of aesthetics. The commentary that his disciple Abhinavagupta has written on the text is known as *Kāvyakautukavivaraṇa*.[14] Unfortunately, these two texts are both lost.

From the passage referred in the *Abhinavabhāratī*, it appears that Abhinavagupta is paraphrasing his teacher's view (on the strength of the word *abhiprāya*) or it might also be possible that Tota construed the above passage in his text which is now lost. It is also possible that Abhinavagupta, who cites the above fragment, may put his own view in the midst. Whichever the case, Tota and his disciple Abhinavagupta both have the view that *nāṭya* is not an *anukaraṇa*.

Following Tota, Abhinavagupta voices against the theory of *anukaraṇavāda*, and demolished it stage by stage by conjuring its *pūrvapakṣa*. Abhinavagupta mentions that while watching the drama, there does not arise such cognition in which it appears that 'this actor has imitated someone'. Such cognition will only deform the drama and consequently it becomes an object of criticism among scholars. It is the reason why Bharatamuni stated that *anukaraṇa* (imitation) of other's action would create laughter. Conceiving drama in this way (it is an *anukaraṇa*), the heart of demons had been agitated, and they tried to destroy it. Therefore, *nāṭya* is not an *anukaraṇa* of any specific persons.[15]

Conjuring its *pūrvapakṣa*, Abhinavagupta raises a valid question here that 'someone might say that lets us admit that this *nāṭya* is not an *anukaraṇa* of any specific persons, but it may be *anukaraṇa* of a general thing (*sāmānya-rūpa*). Refuting this view, Abhinavagupta says- there is no harm in accepting this view

---

14. मोक्षफलत्वेन चायं परमपुरुषार्थनिष्ठत्वात् सर्वरसेभ्यः प्रधानतमः । स चायमस्मदुपाध्यायभट्टतौतेन काव्यकौतुके, अस्माभिश्च तद्विवरणे बहुतरकृतनिर्णयपूर्वपक्षसिद्धान्त इत्यलं बहुना ॥ *Locana* third Uddyota, p. 394
(*Rasa* of tranquility leads to *mokṣa*, which is the highest aim of life; therefore, it is the most important of all the *rasas*. It has been explained by my teacher Bhaṭṭa Tota in his *Kāvyakautuka*. Just as, I too have outlined the full discussion citing arguments for and against this view in my commentary entitled *Kāvyakautukavivaraṇa*)

15. नानुकर इति भ्रमितव्यम् । अनेन भाण्डेन राजपुत्रस्यान्यस्य वानुकृतेऽन्यादिबुद्धेरभावात् । तद्विकरणमिति प्रसिद्धं हासमात्रफलं मध्यस्थानाम् । यदभिप्रायेण मुनिर्वक्ष्यति - परचेष्टानुकरणात् हासस्समुपजायते । (अ. ७.१०) इति ॥ तत्पक्षीयाणान्तु तदेव द्वेषासूयानि वृत्त्यादिफलम् । तद्बुद्धयैव हि दैत्यानां हृदयक्षोभः 'एवम्भूता वयमुपहासभाजनम्' इति । उपहारस्यताभीरवश्च निवर्तन्ते ततः, न तूपदेशेन । *Abhinavabhāratī*, first chapter, pp. 36-37

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

except logical impossibility, because generality could never be imitated.[16] It is not possible for the actor to do an *anukaraṇa* of any specific or general things.

Now, he spells out the meaning of *anukaraṇa* as the production of similar things; then logically a question arises "similar to whom".[17] Here, Abhinavagupta proposes three alternatives and logically refutes them.

1. *Pūrvapakṣa* might say that in *nāṭya*, there happens the *anukaraṇa* of Rāma, Sītā etc. But this is not true, because one cannot reproduce Rāma, Sītā etc.[18]

2. They might say that there happens the *anukaraṇa* of Rāma's states of mind (*cittavṛtti*). This view is also not true. The actor does not reproduce within him, a sorrow (*śoka*) similar to Rāma. Such a sorrow is totally absent in him; and if it is accepted that there exists sorrow in the actor, in that case also it will not be *anukaraṇa*. Because there exists no such thing which is similar to the sorrow of Rāma. The sorrow which presents in the actor are totally belongs to him.[19]

3. *Pūrvapakṣa* might say that 'the consequents (*anubhāvas*) produced by the actor are similar to Rāma. Abhinavagupta refutes this argument by saying that the consequents are not similar to that of Rāma, but of the same class (*jāti*). *Jāti* is an entity which is eternal and resides in many objects. Hence, consequents are universal entity, common to all. On this basis, we may say that actor is doing *anukaraṇa* of the consequents of Rāma; but in this case we have to accept *anukaraṇa* of *jāti* (same consequents) which is not possible.[20] In context of the universal entities which are common to all, what is the meaning of 'similarity' and 'similar to whom'?[21]

---

16. नन्वेवं तावता नियतानुकारो माभूत् । अनुकारेण तु किमपराद्धम् । न, किञ्चिदसम्भवादृते । *ibid.*, pp. 36-37

17. अनुकार इति हि सदृशकरणम् । तत्कस्य । *ibid.*, pp-36-37

18. न तावद्रामादेः । तस्याननुकार्यत्वात् । एतेन प्रमदादिभावानामनुकरणं पराकृतम् । *ibid.*, pp. 36-37

19. न चित्तवृत्तीनां शोकक्रोधादिरूपाणाम् । न हि नटो रामसदृशं स्वात्मनः शोकं करोति । सर्वथैव तस्य तत्राभावात् । भावे वाननुकारत्वात् । न चान्यद्वस्त्वस्ति यच्छोकेन सदृशं स्यात् । *ibid.*, pp. 36-37

20. अनुभावांस्तु करोति । किन्तु सजातीयानेव । न तु तत्सदृशान् । *ibid.*, pp. 36-37

21. साधारणरूपस्य कः केन सादृश्यार्थः । त्रैलोक्यवर्तिनः सदृशत्वन्तु न विशेषात्मना यौगपद्येनोपपद्यते । कदाचित् क्रमेण नियत एवानुकृतःस्यात् । सामान्यात्मकत्वे कोऽनुकारार्थः । *ibid.*, pp. 36-37

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

That is to say that *anukaraṇa* of *jāti* (*aniyata*) is impossible. Thus, Theorists who maintain that *nāṭya* is an *anukaraṇa* of general things have been demolished.

We are left only with one alternative and that is to accept *anukaraṇa* of a specific (*niyata*) thing which is also not appropriate and refuted by Abhinavagupta. In *nāṭya*, it is not possible for actors to do *anukaraṇa* of Rāma, their mental states, and their consequents. This is what my teacher intended to clarify in his *Kāvyakautuka*.[22]

Developing his own ingenious theory of *nāṭya*, Abhinavagupta articulates that *nāṭya* is a matter of special cognition (for spectator) which takes the form of apperception/re-perception (*anuvyavasāya*).

In the above passage with the supplement of logic, Abhinavagupta demonstrates how *nāṭya* is an *anuvyavasāya* as follow-

a) In *nāṭya* owing to costume, make-up, and other forms of representation (*abhinaya*), perception of any particular actor like Caitra, Maitra and his peculiar space, time cease to exist. Since perception could not be possible without touch of the particular, therefore, in drama, the widely known words like Rāma, Sītā are used. Usage of such famous words negates the impossibility of becoming actor as Rāma and consequently, audiences take the actor as Rāma. This re-taking or re-imagining of the actor as Rāma is known as *anuvyavasāya*.[23]

b) Due to all this, a re-perception (after perception or following the first perception) arises which is similar to direct perception. This re-perception which is produced in *nāṭya* is full of songs etc., totally fit to enter into our heart and a substratum of *camatkāra* (wonder).[24]

c) The actor hides his true identity through the four varieties of representation (*abhinaya*). In *nāṭya*, through prologue (*prastāvanā*) etc., spectators

22. तस्मात् अनियतानुकारो नाट्यमित्यपि न भ्रमितव्यम् । अस्मदुपाध्यायकृते काव्यकौतुकेऽपि अयमेवाभिप्रायो मन्तव्यः ॥ *ibid.*, pp. 36-37

23. तथा चाहार्यविशेषादिना निवृत्ते तद्देशकालचैत्रमैत्रादिनटविशेषप्रत्यक्षाभिमाने विशेषलेशोपक्रमेण च विना प्रत्यक्षाप्रवृत्तेरायाते रामादिशब्दस्यात्रोपयोगात् प्रसिद्धतदर्थतयाऽऽदरणीयचरितवाचकस्यासम्भावनामात्रनिराकरणेनानुव्यवसायस्य.. *Abhinavabhāratī*, first chapter, p. 37

24. प्रत्यक्षकल्पनाट्ये हृद्यगीताद्यनुस्यूततया चमत्कारस्थानत्वात्...., *ibid.*, p. 37

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

concentrate on the actor only. Actor who is visible on the stage, is in midst of the collocation of stimuli (*rañjakasāmagrīmadhya*), hiding his true identity, assisted by the impressions of spectators, arouses re-perception in spectators through their consent of heart and sympathetic identification.[25]

d) This re-perception is also known as tasting (*rasanā*), sampling (*āsvādana*), wonder (*camatkāra*), relish (*carvaṇa*), immersion (*nirveśa*), and enjoyment (*bhoga*) etc. This re-perception is the light of an innate bliss of consciousness, coloured with various forms of mental states whose shape are joy or sorrow.[26] Concluding his illustration, Abhinavagupta defines *nāṭya* as *kīrtana* (narration), made up of re-perception a form of consciousness with various cognitions. *Nāṭya* perceived like this is not an *anukaraṇa*.[27]

Abhinavagupta uses the term *anuvyavasāya* to explain the nature of drama. *Anuvyavasāya* is a technical term which has been profusely used in philosophical discussion to explain the nature of cognition. Generally, this term has been used by the *Nyāya, Sāṁkhya, Yoga,* and *Śaiva* philosophers. For the *Nyāya* philosophers, when we see a pot on the ground, then 'pot' is *viṣaya*. Due to sense-object contact there arises a sensory perception of the form 'this is pot'. This sense-object contact is known as *vyavasāya* and it is a function of sense organs. After the perceptual cognition (*vyavasāya*), our mind determines that 'I know this pot'. This mental ascertainment is known as *anuvyavasāya* in the *Nyāya* School.[28] The Yoga philosophy takes the word *anuvyavasāya* to refer a function of the mind by which the sensations due to sense-object contact are associated, differentiated, integrated, and assimilated into percepts and concepts.[29]

---

25. हृदयानुप्रवेशयोग्यत्वमभिनयचतुष्टयेन स्वरूपप्रच्छादितस्वस्वभावेन प्राक्प्रवृत्तलौकिकप्रत्यक्षानुमानादिजनितसंस्कार-सहायेन सहृदयसंस्कारसचिवेन हृदयसंवादतन्मयीभावनासहकारिणा प्रयोक्ता दृश्यमानेन योऽनुव्यवसायो जन्यते..., *ibid.*, p. 37
26. सुखदुःखाद्याकारचित्तरूपरूषितनिजसंविदानन्दप्रकाशमयः अत एव विचित्रो रसनास्वादन चमत्कारचर्वण निर्वेशभोगाद्य-परपर्यायः तत्र यदवभासते वस्तु नाट्यम् । *ibid.*, p. 37
27. तस्मादनुव्यवसायात्मकं कीर्तनं रूषितविकल्पसंवेदनं नाट्यम् । तद्वेदनवेद्यत्वात् । न त्वनुकरणरूपम् । *ibid.*, p. 37
28. सर्वत्र प्रत्यक्षविषये ज्ञातुरिन्द्रियेण व्यवसायः, पश्चात् मनसाऽनुव्यवसायः । (*Nyāyabhāṣya*, p.15)
29. Dasgupta, Surendranath. *Yoga as Philosophy and Religion*, p. 176

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

In Abhinavagupta's philosophy, we find a detailed analysis of *anuvyavasāya*. In his philosophical framework knowledge is an activity of Lord Śiva who is the knower (*pramātā*). Utpaladeva, the grand teacher of Abhinavagupta in his *Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā* (hereafter IPK) highlights the role of *manas* which 'performs the function of determination following the direct perception brings about conceptual elaborations such as action and so on, which are based on these external and internal objects and substantiated by the activity of the knowing subject.'[30]

Commenting on this part, Abhinavagupta in his *Vimarśinī* articulates that the supreme consciousness (*saṁvid*) is the *pramātā* which like a thread on which the beads of all cognitions are strung. The *saṁvid* is the substratum of all cognitions. His nature is absolute freedom, but when he comes in touch with *māyā* becomes restricted. In this state, there arises *vikalpas*. Thereafter, the internal sense *manas* brings determination in the form of ascertainment (mental construct) expressible by the word *anuvyavasāya* which is responsible for acquiring relations with actions and so on. These mental constructs rest on unity and multiplicity of the consciousness. Abhinavagupta admits that in this objective world, all actions consisting of manifestations in certain space and time, are unified in the supreme *saṁvid*. It is *saṁvid*, which connects all the manifestations and make them to appear in various forms.[31]

Thus, *anuvyavasāya* is a function of the mind which creates coherence by unifying percepts with abstract relations into a positive determination[32]. *Anuvyavasāya* is a valid knowledge because it fulfils a desired purpose. Similarly, in drama our mind performs coherence-creating functions. Our mind arranges all perceptions and produces a coherence conducive to the dramatic goal (relish of *rasa*). Since, this coherence produces our desired purpose (*rasāsvāda*), hence it is

30. तदद्वयालम्बना एता मनोऽनुव्यवसायि सत् । करोति मातृव्यापारमयीः कर्मादिकल्पना ॥ IPK 2/2/3

31. इह ज्ञानमालाया अन्तःसूत्रकल्पः स्वसंवेदनात्मा प्रमाता जीवितभूतः इति उपपादितं प्राक्, स च स्वतन्त्र इत्यपि निर्णीतम् स तु विशुद्धस्वभावः शिवात्मा, मायापदे तु संकुचितस्वभावः पशुः, तदस्य मनःसमुल्लासावसरे विकल्पभूमिकायां स्फुट उल्लासः, एन्द्रिके निर्विकल्पके सदाशिवेश्वरदशाभ्युदयात्, अविकल्पबोधाबहिर्भर्तस्य विमर्शव्यापारः । पश्चाद्भाविनं व्यवसायं निश्चयात्मकं विकल्पकम् अनुव्यवसायशब्दवाच्यं विदधदन्तःकरणम् एतान् क्रियासंबन्धादिविकल्पान् सम्पादयति । IPV, Vol. 2, p. 42.

32. Priyawat Kuanpoonpol, Pratibha: *The concept of Intuition in the philosophy of Abhinavagupta*, p-85.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

a means of valid knowledge. In this sense, Abhinavagupta terms *nāṭya* as *anuvyavasāyaviśeṣa*. But here we must remember that *anuvyavasāya* that occurs in drama is not the same as it happens in the real world. That is why, Abhinavagupta frequently mentions that "drama is a kind of *anuvyavasāya*, not the same.[33] Abhinavagupta suggests that the term *anukīrtana* (re-narration) used by Bharatamuni in fact aims to take towards *anuvyavasāya* in the heart of the spectator.

Paraphrasing the view of his teacher Bhaṭṭa Tota who takes on Śrī Śaṅkuka or his followers (*anukaraṇavādins*)

In the sixth chapter of the *Abhinavabhāratī*, Abhinavagupta cites a long passage of his teacher Bhaṭṭa Tota who repudiates the theory of aesthetic reception offered by Śrī Śaṅkuka known as *anukaraṇavāda*. Although the passage does not mention the name of his teacher, but Hemacandra in his *Kāvyānuśāsana* acknowledges this passage to Bhaṭṭa Tota.[34]

Explaining the *rasasūtra* of Bharatamuni, Śrī Śaṅkuka states that the permanent emotion (*sthāyibhāva*) which primarily belongs to the real characters Rāma, Sīta etc., when imitated by the actor is known by the transformed name *rasa*, its character of being an imitation warranting the transformation of the name. This *sthāyibhāva* is perceived as belonging to the actor through the process of inference by the artificial tokens, which do not look like artificial.[35]

Bhaṭṭa Tota totally disagrees with the theory of *anukaraṇavāda* offered by Śrī Śaṅkuka and refutes stage by stage by raising questions as follows:

if *rasa* is an imitation of permanent emotions (*sthāyibhāva*) then is it so from the point of view of the spectator or the actor or the critics who have analyzed the real nature (*vastuvṛtta*) of dramatic presentation or the Bharata himself?[36]

---

33. तेनानुव्यवसायवत् विशेषविषयीकार्यं नाट्यम् । *Abhinavabhāratī*, first chapter, p. 37

34. तदिदमप्यन्तस्तत्त्वशून्यं विमर्दक्षमिति भट्टतोतः । *Kāvyānuśāsana*, p. 70

35. R.B. Patankar. "Śaṅkuka- a defence", in *Some Aspects of the Rasa Theory*, p.13

36. तदिदमप्यन्तस्तत्त्वशून्यं न विमर्दक्षममित्युपाध्यायाः । तथा हि- अनुकरणरूपो रस इति यदुच्यते तत्किं सामाजिकप्रतीत्यभिप्रायेण उत नटाभिप्रायेण किं वा वस्तुवृत्तविवेचकव्याख्यातृबुद्धिसमवलम्बेन 'यथाहुर्व्याख्यातारः खल्वेवं विवेचयन्ति' इति । *Abhinavabhāratī*, sixth chapter, p. 274

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

The first alternative has been refuted by Bhaṭṭa Tota by saying that things perceivable by the senses can alone be regarded as imitating each other. For example, a person who is drinking milk and this activity is perceived directly by the spectator; at some another moment, if anyone is drinking wine in the same way then one can say that the wine-drinking is an *anukaraṇa* of the milk-drinking. But in a drama, what are the things spectator perceives in the actor which might said to be an *anukaraṇa* of the real *sthāyibhāva*. Is it his body or the headwear or his horripilation or his faltering words or the movement of his arms or his glances- all these cannot be regarded by anyone as the *anukaraṇa* or reproduction of *rati* which is a mental state? These (bodily attributes) are insentient, perceived by different sense-organs, and having the different substratum. How can *rati* which is a mental state and accessible to the mind alone be reproduce through the insentient bodily efforts? *Anukaraṇa* demands access of the original. In absence of the original, no *anukaraṇa* can be accomplished. In other words, for *anukaraṇa* we must have both the original and the copy. No one can ever perceive the *rati* of Rāma, then how can one maintain that there is an *anukaraṇa* of Rāma's *rati*. Consequently, the possibility that the actor is reproducing Rāma is also demolished.[37]

Furthermore, the audience who perceives the actor as "this is the Rāma", and since there is no hindrance in this cognition later, why it is not taken as the real cognition. And if there is any hindrance then why it is not taken as the false cognition. In fact, you are maintaining that although there is no invalidating cognition, yet aesthetic experience is the false cognition.[38]

---

37. अथ भरतमुनिवचनानुसारेणाद्यः पक्षोऽसङ्गतः । किञ्चिद्धि प्रमाणेनोपलब्धं तदनुकरणमिति शक्यं वक्तुम् । यथा, 'एवमसौ सुरां पिबति' इति सुरापानानुकरणत्वेन पयःपानं प्रत्यक्षावलोकितं प्रतिभाति । इह च नटगतं किं तदुपलब्धं सदनुकरणतया भातीति चिन्त्यम् । तच्छरीरं तन्निष्ठं प्रतिशीर्षकादि रोमाञ्चकगद्गदिकादिभुजाक्षेपवलनप्रभृति भ्रूक्षेपकटाक्षादिकं च न रतेश्चित्तवृत्तिरूपतयानुकारत्वेन कस्यचित्प्रतिभाति । जडत्वेन (भिन्नेन्द्रियग्राह्यत्वेन) भिन्नाधिकरणत्वेन च ततोऽतिवैलक्षण्यात् । मुख्यावलोकने च तदनुकरणप्रतिभासः । न च रामगतां रतिमुपलब्धपूर्वैणः केचित् । एतेन रामानुकारो नट इत्यपि निरस्तः प्रवादः। *ibid.*, p. 274

38. यच्चोक्तं रामोऽयमित्यस्ति प्रतिपत्तिः तदपि यदि तदात्वेति निश्चितं तदुत्तरकालभाविबाधकवैधुर्याभावे कथं न तत्त्वज्ञानं स्यात् । बाधकसद्भावे वा कथं न मिथ्याज्ञानम् । वास्तवेन च वृत्ते बाधकानुदयेऽपि मिथ्याज्ञानमेव स्यात् । तेन विरुद्धबुद्धिसम्भेदादित्यसत् । नर्तकान्तरेऽपि च रामोऽयमिति प्रतिपत्तिरस्ति । ततश्च रामत्वं सामान्यरूपमित्यायातम् । *ibid.*, p. 275

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Śaṅkuka maintained a difference between *vāk* (speech only), and the *vācika abhinaya* in the dramatic performance where the actor combines the verbal with his performance – i.e. *vācika* with *abhinaya* or acting. Through physical means, the actor brings the emotion to the level of perception (*pratītiyogya*).

From the above discussion it became clear that the *rati* aroused in the actor cannot be regarded as the imitation of the original Rāma's *rati*. Now, *anukaraṇavādins* might say that the mental states or feeling of *rati* that present in the actor itself regarded as imitated *rati* known as *śṛṅgāra rasa*. Here, Tota objects that- in what form such feeling appears?[39]

Anukaraṇavādins answer as the actor's feeling appears to the spectators consisting of three elements, namely, *kāraṇa* (causes) like women, *kārya* (effects) like expressive glances, *sahacārī* (auxiliary) like *dhṛti* which serve as characteristic signs (*liṅgabhūta*) in the same way as it appears in day-to-day life. To this, Bhaṭṭa Tota mentions that if it is the case then the feeling of the actor simply appears in the form of *rati* not in the form of imitation of *rati*.[40]

Anukaraṇavādins might say that the determinants, etc., are real in the case of *anukārya* i.e. in original characters while in the *anukartā* (actor) they are unreal. Tota says- this is true. But, even if these determinants, etc., are not the real causes, effects, and transient elements of that *rati*, yet they are realized through the power of the poem, the skill of the actor, etc., and thus artificial. To this, Tota raises a question that are they perceived by the spectators in this artificial form or not in artificial form?[41]

If they are perceived as artificial or unreal by the spectator, then how would it be possible that through unreal means there can be an experience of real *rati*.[42] If you

---

39. अथ नटगता चित्तवृत्तिरेव प्रतिपन्ना सती रत्यनुकारः शृङ्गार इत्युच्यते, तत्रापि किमात्मकत्वेन सा प्रतीयत इति चिन्त्यम् । *ibid.*, p. 274

40. ननु प्रमदादिभिः कारणैः कटाक्षादिभिः कार्यैः धृत्यादिभिश्च सहचारिभिर्लिङ्गभूतैर्या लौकिकी कार्यरूपा कारणरूपा सहचारिरूपा च चित्तवृत्तिः प्रतीतियोग्या तदात्मकत्वेन सा नटचित्तवृत्तिः प्रतिभाति हन्त तर्हि रत्याकारेणैव सा प्रतिपन्नेति दूरे रत्यनुकरणतावाचोयुक्तिः । *ibid.*, p. 274

41. ननु ते विभावादयोऽनुकार्ये पारमार्थिकाः । इह त्वनुकर्तरि न तथेति विशेषः । अस्त्वेवम् । किन्तु ते हि विभावादयोऽतत्कारणातत्सहचारूपा अपि काव्यशिक्षादिबलोपकल्पिताः कृत्रिमाः सन्तः किं कृत्रिमत्वेन सामाजिकैः गृह्यन्ते न वा । *ibid.*, p. 274

42. यदि गृह्यन्ते तदा तैः कथं रतेरवगतिः । *ibid.*, p. 274

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

say that for this reason what is perceived is not the *rati*, but the imitation of *rati*. Tota asserts that such type of reasoning could only be given by an inexperienced person. In this world, for every effect there is a famous cause, and only an experienced man can infer an un-famous cause. An inexperienced man can only infer the famous cause. For example- for a scorpion, one can infer that its cause is another scorpion which is the famous cause; only an experienced man can infer that its cause may be the dung which is the un-famous cause. In the same way, it has been well-established that the real determinants, consequents, and auxiliaries are the famous causes to experience *rati* and other emotions. To infer the un-famous cause is nothing but a false cognition. In the same way, one cannot infer from the artificial determinants etc., (which look like real determinants) the existence of imitated *rati*, which resemble as a real *rati*.[43]

Anukaraṇavādins might say that the even if the actor is not himself enraged, still he seems so".[44] To this, Tota answers that this is true, but the actor is like someone who is enraged. And this resemblance is due to his contraction of eyebrows etc. In this case also there is no imitation, and also the spectators are not aware of this resemblance between the actor and the character he represents, but only of the fact that the actor is immersed in a certain state of consciousness shared also by them.[45]

Anukaraṇavādins mentions that determinants are recognized by the power of poetry.[46] Tota objects to this statement by saying that that this is also not understandable. Because the actor does not have the perception that 'this is my Sītā to which I love'.[47] And if you maintain that it is the meaning of the word

---

43. नन्वत एव तत्प्रतीयमानं रत्यनुकरणबुद्धेः कारणम् । कारणान्तरप्रभवेषु हि कार्येषु शिक्षितेन न तथा ज्ञाने वस्त्वन्तरस्यानुमानं तावद् युक्तम् । असुशिक्षितेन तु तस्यैव प्रसिद्धस्य कारणस्य । यथा वृश्चिकविशेषाद्गोमयस्यैवानुमानम् । वृश्चिकस्यैव तत्परं मिथ्याज्ञानम् । यत्रापि लिङ्गज्ञानं मिथ्या तत्रापि न तदाभासानुमानमयुक्तम् । न हि बाष्पाद्धूमत्वेन ज्ञातादनुकारप्रतिभासमानादपि लिङ्गात्तदनुकारानुमानं युक्तम् । धूमानुकारत्वेन हि ज्ञायमानान्नीहारान्नाट्यनुकारजपापुष्पप्रतीतिर्दृष्टा । *ibid.*, p. 274

44. नन्वक्रुद्धोऽपि नटः क्रुद्ध इव भाति । *ibid.*, p. 275

45. सत्यम् । क्रुद्धेन सदृशः । सादृश्यं च भ्रुकुट्यादिभिः । गौरिव गवयेन मुखादिभिरिति । नैतावताऽनुकारः कश्चित् । न चापि सामाजिकानां सादृश्यमतिरस्ति । सामाजिकानां च न भावशून्या नर्तके प्रतिपत्तिरित्युच्यते । अथ च तदनुकारप्रतिभास इति रिक्ता वाचोयुक्तिः । *ibid.*, p. 275

46. यच्चोच्यते विभावाः काव्यादनुसन्धीयन्ते । *ibid.*, p. 275

47. तदपि न विद्मः । न हि 'ममेयं सीता काचित्' इति स्वात्मीयत्वेन प्रतिपत्तिर्नटस्य । *ibid.*, p. 275

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

anusandhāna (realization) and in this way the determinants are made perceptible to the spectators. To this, Tota asserts that if it is the intention, then it is more appropriate to say that *anusandhāna* of permanent states that made perceptible to the spectator. The perception of the spectators in a primary sense, principally with this and is presented in the form: that man (is) in this (feeling)'.[48]

In this way, the first proposition in which it has been said that *rasa* is an imitation of permanent emotions (*sthāyibhāva*) from the point of view of the spectator has been demolished by Bhaṭṭa Tota.[49]

Second Alternative

Objecting to *anukaraṇavādins*, Tota asserts that it is also not perceived by the actor himself that I am doing *anukaraṇa* of Rāma or his mental states. In absence of earlier perception of someone's action, it is impossible to do an *anukaraṇa* of them.[50] If you say that *anukaraṇa* is 'following the action of', then it applies to ordinary life also.[51]

If you say that the actor does not reproduce Rāma, Sītā, etc., rather he has the notion that I am reproducing the sorrow of some great person. To this statement, it is questionable that through which means the actor is reproducing the sorrow of some great person. It cannot be performed by sorrow, which is totally absent in the actor, also not by the tears which nature is totally different from the sorrow.[52]

Anukaraṇavādins may say that in the actor happens a perception of the form that I am reproducing the consequents of some great person. It can also be questioned that to which great person. And if you say that any noble people then we reply that no person can be brought into the mind without a specific idea. If you say that

---

48. अथ सामाजिकस्य तथा प्रतीतियोग्याः क्रियन्त इत्येतदेवानुसन्धानमुच्यते तर्हि स्थायिनि सुतरामनुसन्धानं स्यात् । तस्यैव हि मुख्यत्वेन 'अस्मिन्नयम्' इति सामाजिकानां प्रतिपत्तिः । यत्तु 'वाग्वाचिकम्' इत्यादिना भेदाभिधानसंरम्भगर्भमहीयानभिनयरूपताविवेकः कृतः स उत्तरत्र स्वावसरे । *ibid.*, p. 275

49. तस्मात्सामाजिकप्रतीत्यनुसारेण स्थाय्यनुकरणं रस इत्यसत् । *ibid.*, p. 275

50. न चापि नटस्येत्थं प्रतिपत्तिः 'रामं तच्चित्तवृत्तिं वाऽनुकरोमि' इति । सदृश्यकरणं हि तावदनुकरणमनुपलब्धप्रकृतिना न शक्यं कर्तुम् । *ibid.*, p. 275

51. अथ पश्चात्करणमनुकरणं तल्लोकेऽप्यनुकरणात्मतातिप्रसक्ता । *ibid.*, p. 275

52. अथ न नियतस्य कस्याचिदनुकारः अपि तूत्तमप्रकृतेः शोकमनुकरोति तर्हि केनेति चिन्त्यम् । न तावच्छोकेन तस्य तदभावात् । न चाश्रुपातादिना शोकस्यानुकारः तद्वैलक्षण्यादित्युक्तम् । *ibid.*, p. 275

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

the actor is reproducing a person who should have wept in this manner the actor does, then the actor's own personality also enters. Consequently, the distinction between the *anukārya-anukartā* is no longer exists.[53]

The actor has no consciousness of carrying out a reproduction. Through his skills gained, memory of the determinants, and the consent of his heart aroused by the state of universality of the feelings, the actor displays the corresponding consequents and reads the poem with suitable intonations of voice. We can only say that the actor remains conscious to this only, not in the form that I am reproducing the Rāma. Reproduction of the actions of Rāma is totally different from the reproduction of the action of certain beloved.[54]

Therefore, this alternative in which it has been said that *rasa* is an imitation of permanent emotions (*sthāyibhāva*) from the point of actor is demolished.

Third Alternative

It cannot be said that *rasa* is an imitation of permanent emotions (*sthāyibhāva*) from the point of critics who have analyzed the real nature of the dramatic presentation. Because it is impossible that a thing of which one is not conscious about, has a real nature.[55]

Fourth Alternative

Bharatamuni has also not mentioned (in his *sūtra*) that *rasa* is a reproduction of permanent emotions. On the contrary, *dhruvā* songs, *tāla*, various forms of dances mentioned by Bharatamuni in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* indicate the opposite.[56]

---

53. इयत्तु स्यात्-उत्तमप्रकृतेर्ये शोकानुभावाः तानननुकरोमीति । तत्रापि कस्योत्तमप्रकृतेः । यस्य कस्याचिदिति चेत्सोऽपि विशिष्टतां विना कथं बुद्धावारोपयितुं शक्यः । एवं रोदितीति चेत्स्वात्मापि मध्ये नटस्यानुप्रविष्ट इति गलितोऽनुकार्यानुकर्तृभावः । *ibid.*, p. 275

54. किञ्च नटः शिक्षावशात्स्वविभावस्मरणाच्चित्तवृत्तिसाधारणीभावेन हृदयसंवादात्केवलमनुभावान्प्रदर्शयन् काव्यमुपचित-काकुप्रभृत्युपस्कारेण पठंश्चेष्टत इत्येतावन्मात्रेऽस्य प्रतीतिर्नत्वनुकारं वेदयते । कान्तवेषानुकारवद्धि न रामचेष्टितस्या-नुकारः । एतच्च प्रथमाध्यायेऽपि दर्शितमस्माभिः । *ibid.*, p. 275-76

55. नापि वस्तुवृत्तानुसारेण तदनुकारत्वम् । अनुसंवेद्यमानस्य वस्तुवृत्तत्वानुपपत्तेः । यच्च वस्तुवृत्तं तद्दर्शयिष्यामः । *ibid.*, p. 276

56. न च मुनिवचनमेवंविधमस्ति क्वचित्स्थाप्यनुकरणं रसा इति । नापि लिङ्गमात्रार्थे मुनेरुपलभ्यते । प्रत्युत ध्रुवागानताल-वैचित्र्यलास्याङ्गोपजीवनं निरूपणादि विपर्यये लिङ्गमिति सन्ध्यङ्गाध्यायान्ते वितनिष्यामः । 'सप्तद्वीपानुकरणम्' (ना.शा.१.११६) इत्यादि त्वन्यथापि शक्यगमनिकमिति । तदनुकारेऽपि च क्व नामान्तरं कान्तवेषगत्यनुकारणादौ । *ibid.*, p. 276

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Finally, *anukaraṇavādins* take the analogy of a painter who compose (*saṁyuj*) an image of a cow by mixing various pigments in proper configuration (*saṁniveśa*) to resemble a cow. In the same way, the *rasa* is manifested by proper combination of determinants etc.[57]

Abhinavagupta rejects this alternative also by saying that the mixing of various pigments cannot manifest the real cow (*pāramārthika*) as the one revealed by a lamp; rather they produce a particular assemblage (*samūha*) like a cow. The mixing of various pigments constitutes a particular arrangement which is just similar to the arrangement of the limbs of a real cow. On the other hand, in a drama such cognition does not happen that the determinants, consequents etc., are similar to *rati*. Therefore, it is not appropriate to accept *rasa* as an *anukaraṇa* of the mental states (*bhāvas*).[58]

Conclusion

Thus, taking inspirations from his teacher Bhaṭṭa Tota, Abhinavagupta offers a resounding critic of *anukaraṇavāda* and their various alternatives which is one of the most remarkable contributions of Abhinavagupta in the domain of Indian art and aesthetics. For Abhinavagupta, *nāṭya* as a matter of special cognition which takes the form of *anuvyavasāya* i.e. re-perception which is the light of an innate bliss of consciousness, coloured with various forms of mental states whose shape are joy or sorrow. Abhinavagupta conceives *nāṭya* as *kīrtana* (narration), made up of re-perception a form of consciousness with various cognitions.

---

57. यच्चोच्यते वर्णकैर्हरितालादिभिः संयुज्यमान एव गौरित्यादि । तत्र यद्यभिव्यज्यमान इत्यर्थोच्यते वर्णकैर्हरितालादिभिः संयुज्यमान एव गौरित्यादि । तत्र यद्यभिव्यज्यमान इत्यर्थोऽभिप्रेतः । *ibid.*, p. 276

58. न हि सिन्दूरादिभिः पारमार्थिको गौरभिव्यज्यते प्रदीपादिभिरिव । किन्तु तत्सदृशः समूहविशेषो निर्वर्त्यते । अत एव हि सिन्दूरादयो गवावयवसन्निवेशसदृशेन सन्निवेशविशेषेणावस्थिता गोसदृगिति प्रतिभासस्य विषयः । नैवं विभावादिसमूहो रतिसदृशताप्रतिपत्तिग्राह्यः । तस्माद्भावानुकरणं रसा इत्यसत् । *ibid.*, p. 276

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Bibliography

Primary Texts

1. *The Aitareya Āraṇyakam with Sāyaṇa Bhāṣya*, ed. Babasatri Phadake and Hari Narayana Apte, Anandasrama Series No-38, Pune, 1898.
2. ---, *The Dhvanyāloka with Locana of Abhinavagupta, the Bālapriyā subcommentary of Rāmasāraka and the Divyāñjanā notes of Pt. Mahadeva Sastri*, ed. Pt. Pattabhiram Sastri, Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares, 1940.
3. Abhinavagupta, *The Tantrāloka with commentary by Rājānaka Jayaratha* (vol II, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, No. XXVIII), ed. Paṇḍit Madhusudan Kaul Śāstrī., Shri Venkateshvar Steam Press, Bombay, 1921.
4. ---, *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī*. [vol I, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, No. XXII], ed. Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍit Mukund Rāma Śāstri, Niryana Sagar Press, Bombay, 1918.
5. ---, *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvimarśinī*. [vol II, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, No. XXXIII], ed. Paṇḍit Madhusudan Kaul Śāstrī, Niryana Sagar Press, Bombay, 1921.
6. ---, *Īśvarapratyabhijñavivṛtivimarśinī* [Vol.I, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, No. LX], ed. Paṇḍit Madhusudan Kaul Śāstrī, Niryana Sagar Press, Bomaby, 1938.
7. ---, *Īśvarapratyabhijñavivṛtivimarśinī* [Vol.II, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, No. LXII], ed. Paṇḍit Madhusudan Kaul Śāstrī. Niryana Sagar Press, Bombay, 1941.
8. ---, *Īśvarapratyabhijñavivṛtivimarśinī* [Vol.III, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, No. LXV], ed. Paṇḍit Madhusudan Kaul Śāstrī, Niryana Sagar Press, Bombay, 1943.
9. Bharatamuni, *Nātyaśāstra with commentary Abhinavabhāratī of Abhinavagupta*, ed. M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1926, 1934, 1954, 1964. (in four volumes)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

10. Bhāskarakaṇṭha, *Bhāskarī: a commentary on the Īśvarapratyabhijñā-vimarśinī of Ācārya Abhinavagupta* (Vol. I-III), ed. K.A.Subramnia Iyer and K. C. Pandey, Sarasvatībhavana-Granthamālā, Varanasi, 1998.

11. *Citrasūtram of the Viṣṇudharmottara Puraṇa*, ed. and trans. Parul Dave Mukherji, IGNCA & Motilal Banarasidass. Delhi, 2001.

12. Hemacandra, *Kāvyānuśāsana with his own gloss*, ed. Pandit Sivadatta and Kasinath Pandurang Parab, Meharchand Lachhmandas Publications, New Delhi, 1986.

13. Mammaṭa, *Kāvyaprakāśa with Bālabodhinī commentary of Vamanacharya Ramabhatta Jhalakikara*, ed. R.D. Karmarkar. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1950.

14. *Nyāyadarśana (Nyāya Sūtras of Gautam) with Bhāṣya of Vātsyāyana*, Chaukhamba Sanskrit Pratishthan, Delhi, 1986.

15. Patañjali, *Mahābhāṣya with the commentary Bhasyapradipa of Kaiyataupadhyaya and the sub-commentary Bhasyapradipoddyota of Nagesa Bhatta*, ed. Bhargava Sastri Bhikaji Joshi, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Pratishthan, Delhi, 1987.

16. Rigveda Brahmanas: The Aitareya and Kauṣītaki Brahmanas of the Rigveda, Translated from the original Sanskrit by A. B. Keith, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1920.

17. *The Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā of Utpaladeva with the author's vṛtti*, critical edition and annotated trans. Raffaele Torella, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 2002.

18. *Viṣṇudharmottara Puraṇa* (Third Khanda, Vol. 1), ed. Priyabala Shah, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1958.

Secondary texts, Articles

1. Chari, V. K. *Sanskrit Criticism*, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1993.

2. Dasgupta, Surendranath. *Yoga as Philosophy and Religion*, Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., London, 1924.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

3. Patankar, R. B. *Some Aspects of the Rasa theory*. 1986. Delhi: Bhogilal Leherchand Institute of Indology, Delhi, 1986.

4. Priyawat Kuanpoonpol, Pratibha: *The concept of Intuition in the philosophy of Abhinavagupta* (Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1991.

5. Chakrabarti, Arindam. "From Vimarsha to Vishrama: You, I, and the tranquil taste of Freedom." in *Abhinavagupta: Reconsiderations*, ed. Makarand Paranjape and Sunthar Visuvalingam, Samvad India Foundation, New Delhi, 2006.

6. Chakrabarti, Arindam. "Play, Pleasure, Pain: Ownerless Emotions in Rasa-Aesthetics" in *History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization*, XV (3), ed. D. P. Chattopadhyaya and Amiya Dev, Centre for Studies in Civilizations, Science, Literature and Aesthetics, New Delhi, 2009.

7. Gnoli, Raniero. *The Aesthetic Experience According to Abhinavagupta*, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 1985.

8. Masson J.L, and M.V. Patwardhan, *Aesthetic Rapture: The Rasādhyāya of the Nāṭyaśāstra* (in two volumes). Deccan College, Poona, 1970.

9. ---. *Śāntarasa and Abhinavagupta's philosophy of aesthetics*, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1969.

10. Mukherji, Parul Dave. "Who is afraid of mimesis? Contesting the common sense of Indian aesthetics through the theory of mimesis or anukaraṇavāda." in *The Bloomsbury Research Handbook of Indian Aesthetics and the Philosophy of Art*, ed. Arindam Chakrabarti, Bloomsbury Academic, USA, 2016.

11. Rastogi, Navjivan. "Utpala's insights into aesthetics and his impact on Abhinavagupta's aesthetic speculation." in *Utpaladeva: Philosopher of Recognition*, ed. Raffaele Torella and Bettina Baumer, IIAS & D. K. Printworld, New Delhi, 2016.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

LEADERSHIP PRINCIPLES ENVISAGED THROUGH SOMADEVA'S *NĪTIVĀKYĀMṚTAM*

Harshada Sawarkar *

Abstract: Ancient as well as medieval Sanskrit texts have served as light-house for various knowledge systems of the present world. Science of Polity also has a long tradition of Sanskrit texts, the popular among these is *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*. After *Arthaśāstra*, one comes across number of texts on polity composed on the model of *Arthaśāstra*. Somadeva's *Nītivākyāmṛtam*, is a 10th century text exclusively dealing with statecraft. The text is an important part of *nīti* tradition of India.

Somadeva, a Jain monk was an important political thinker of 10th century. He wrote *Nītivākyāmṛtam* to advise princes on how best to govern kingdom. It is a treatise containing 32 chapters known as *samuddeśa*. The text has been composed in *sūtra* style and has 1560 aphorisms. It is very interesting to see that the author Somadeva follows Kauṭilya in almost every aspect. This paper aims at studying selected aphorisms of *Nītivākyāmṛtam* and delineate its importance to the present study of leadership principles.

Key Words: Somadeva, *Nītivākyāmṛtam*, *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, Leadership

Introduction

Indian tradition of texts on polity have witnessed a long tradition reflecting the nature and constitution of Kingship organization. Various accounts from Vedic literature show the necessity and solutions provided for building a well-governed and harmonious society. This continuous stream of thoughts is culminated into various full-fledged treatises dealing with *rājadharma* and allied concepts. In

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO. 124, Vol. 69, 2020, pp. 137-148.

* Chanakya International Institute of Leadership Studies, Ramkrishna Bajaj Sanskrit Bhavan, University of Mumbai, Santacruz, Mumbai – 400098, M: 09869113489, E-mail: harshadasawarkar@gmail.com

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

other words, treatises on *dharmaśāstra* and *arthaśāstra* have been paving the way for Indian political thought.

This textual tradition can broadly be divided into two parts – Pre-Kauṭilian Texts and Post- Kauṭilian Texts. The reason behind categorizing this tradition in such a way is well evident from the importance given to the text of *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* (KA). One can see no other systematic text on polity and administration other than that of KA. Obviously, a great impact of Kauṭilian thoughts is seen on the thinkers of Post- Kauṭilian era.

The text taken into consideration here, belongs to Post- Kauṭilian period. *Nītivākyāmṛtam* (NV) of Somadeva is a text from 10th century CE dealing with principles of governance and statecraft. Somadeva was a Jain monk and an important political thinker of this era and he is also the author of *Yaśastilakacampu*. *Nītivākyāmṛtam* was written to advise princes, specially Arikesarī II, a feudatory of Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Kṛṣṇa III. According to K. A. Nilakantha Sastri[1], '*Nītivākyāmṛtam* reviews the subject matter of KA from the standpoint of Jain morals in a clear and pithy manner'.

NV is an important work in *nīti* tradition of India. It is divided in 32 parts and each part is known as *samuddeśa*. The author has adopted *sūtra* style of writing and the text contains 1560 *sūtra*-s.

These thirty-two *samuddeśa*-s (alongwith their number of *sūtra*-s) are -

1. *Dharma* (Righteousness) – 52
2. *Artha* (Attainment of Prosperity) – 11
3. *Kāma* (Fulfilment of Desires) – 14
4. *Ariṣaḍvarga* (Group of Six Enemies) – 07
5. *Vidyāvṛddha* (Knowledge and Credible Persons) – 69
6. *Ānvīkṣikī* (Logic) – 45
7. *Trayī* (Vedic Lore) – 43

1. Sastri K. A. N., *A History of South India from Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar*, Oxford University Press, London, 1958, p. 337 (Printed in India by The Theosophical Society, Madras)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

8. *Vārtā* (Economics) – 26
9. *Daṇḍanīti* (Policy of Punishment) – 08
10. *Mantrī* (Ministers) – 169
11. *Purohita* (Priest) – 55
12. *Senāpati* (Military Commander) – 03
13. *Dūta* (Envoy) – 22
14. *Cāra* (Spy) – 41
15. *Vicāra* (Deliberation) – 19
16. *Vyasana* (Vices) - 31
17. *Svāmī* (Lord / King) – 62
18. *Amātya* (Minister) – 70
19. *Janapada* (Country) – 28
20. *Durga* (Fort) – 07
21. *Kośa* (Treasure) – 14
22. *Bala* (Military Power) – 26
23. *Mitra* (Friend) – 11
24. *Rājarakṣā* (Protection of the King) - 88
25. *Divasānuṣṭhāna* (Daily Duties) – 111
26. *Sadācāra* (Good Conduct) – 69
27. *Vyavahāra* (Behaviour) – 72
28. *Vivāda* (Dispute) – 56
29. *Ṣāḍguṇya* (Six Expedients of Politics) – 96
30. *Yuddha* (War) – 121
31. *Vivāha* (Marriage) – 36
32. *Prakīrṇa* (Miscellaneous) – 78

Somadeva is concerned with each and every aspect related with kingship and he is elaborate and exhaustive in doing so. Considering the vastness of the text, it will be appropriate to focus on selected points in this paper.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Dharma - Righteousness

Following the very thread of human life, Somadeva starts the treatise with prime focus given to *dharma* or righteousness. In fact, in doing so he highlights the primary requirement for a King or a Leader to be righteous. He even defines the term saying, that which leads to the accomplishment of worldly success and transcendental bliss is *dharma*[2] and to attain this one should contemplate on the means of welfare of others as of oneself and should also try to donate according to one's own capacity[3]. Such spending of money for a good cause is known as charity.[4] One is reminded of Kauṭilya[5] here who gives utmost importance to public welfare rather than the interests of the leader himself. The very idea of welfare state put forth by this visionary man is seen to have been percolated in the later texts on polity.

Somadeva further comments that no action maliciously inclined towards others can lead to welfare[6] and condemns[7] the claimant calling him a robber, who aspires for money even after knowing the miserable condition of the other. Traditional instructions play a major role for guiding about the enjoined and forbidden actions[8], says Somadeva. Those who are not always vigilant in following righteous path, suffer self-deception. And to avoid this, a leader should always be protective about his own self from all sorts of vices especially the company of wicked[9]. Like fire, these people even scorch those who give them shelter[10].

The whole idea of righteousness according to Somadeva is more philosophical rather than practical. But he seems to be giving more importance to this aspect of

---

2. यतोऽभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससिद्धिः स धर्मः । *Nītivākyāmṛtam*, I.2
3. आत्मवत् परत्र कुशलवृत्तिचिन्तनं शक्तिस्त्यागः ... । *Ibid.*, I.3
4. ऐहिकामुत्रिकफलार्थम् अर्थव्ययः त्यागः । *Ibid.*, I.11
5. प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानां च हिते हितम् ॥ नात्मप्रियं हितं राज्ञः प्रजानां तु प्रियं हितम् ॥ *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, I.19.34
6. न खलु भूतद्रुहां कापि क्रिया प्रसूते श्रेयांसि । *Ibid.* I.4
7. स खल्वर्थी परिपन्थी यः परस्य दौःस्थित्यं जानन्नपि तस्मिन्नभिलषत्यर्थम् । *Ibid.*, I.9
8. विधिनिषेधौ ऐतिह्यायत्तौ । *Ibid.*, I.26
9. खलसंसर्गः किं नाम करोत्यनिष्टम् । *Ibid.*, I.43
10. अग्निरिव स्वाश्रयमेव दहन्ति दुर्जनाः । *Ibid.*, I.44

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

a leader's life as it will yield fruit in this world as well as the other world. The values like honesty, integrity, commitment towards given responsibility are well-evident in such aspect of leadership. Modern concept of transformational leadership underlines the importance of such idealistic behaviour. Such leadership addresses the issues before they become problematic and the leaders definitely act as role models for their subordinates. In a nutshell, *dharma* according to NV can serve as the foundation for building leadership.

Artha - Finance

Artha or finances is the backbone of any institution. Kauṭilya[11] underlines the importance of *artha* by saying 'अर्थः एव प्रधानः । अर्थमूलौ हि धर्मकामौ ।' On the lines of Kauṭilya, Somadeva regards *artha* as the means to achieve the unprocured, protect it and increase the already acquired wealth[12]. He emphasizes the enjoyment of wealth with rightness of means and continuity of tradition[13].

The concept of continuity of tradition is something of interest even in modern context. Many political philosophers deal with this concept. *Nītiprakāśikā* - a text on polity attributed to Vaiśampāyana, also highlights this point saying that the later King should never abolish the system of wages implemented by earlier Kings[14]. In the process of successive leadership, this continuity of tradition has a very key role to play as the later leaders or administrators are always judged on the footprints of the earlier one. The cultural or paternalistic patterns observed in family businesses or even in well-known corporate establishments create a unique set of beliefs which leads to the all-round growth of the firm. But at the same time, it is the responsibility of the leader to recognize the overall implications of this continuity of tradition and the growth of the firm. In this connection, it will be appropriate to quote W. Gibb Dyer[15] -

---

11. *Op.cit.*, I.7.9
12. अलब्धलाभः लब्धपरिरक्षणं रक्षितविवर्धनं वृद्धस्य तीर्थेषु प्रतिपादनं चार्थानुबन्धः । *Nītivākyāmṛtam*, II.3
13. सोऽर्थस्य भाजनं योऽर्थानुबन्धेनार्थमनुभवति । *Ibid.*, II.2
14. पूर्वं राजकृता या तु मर्यादा जनजीविका । तां न च व्यंसयेद्राजा नाशयन्निन्दितो भवेत् ॥ *Nītiprakāśikā*, VIII.66
15. Professor of Entrepreneurship at the Centre for Economic Self-reliance in the Marriott School of Management, Brigham Young University, USA

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

> ...Since the leaders largely create and shape the cultural patterns of the business, they must understand the effects of those cultures and take steps to ensure that they foster cultural patterns that will allow the business and family to grow and thrive. Family business cultures can either contribute to success or be a major stumbling block. To understand and manage the opportunities inherent in family business cultures is not easy, and it is not often done in family firms, but it is essential for leaders who wish to ensure the continuity of their businesses and the well-being of their families.[16]

Further, Somadeva rightly calls a leader – a miser, who amasses wealth by torturing his subordinates. Even a spendthrift of ancestral property is to be considered unworthy.

Vidyāvṛddha – Knowledge and Credible Persons

This part stresses the importance of knowledge and the guidance of knowledgeable and experienced people around the King.

Somadeva says, a wise person devoid of scriptural knowledge is vanquished by his enemies like a weapon-less person gets destroyed in a war[17]. Hence, the knowledge of scriptures is the third eye for objects beyond the reach of human eyes[18]. The one who does not possess scriptural knowledge is indeed blind even if has physical eyes[19]. He also enumerates the qualities of the intellect such as *śuśrūṣā* (desire to listen), *śravaṇa* (careful listening), *grahaṇa* (acquisition of knowledge), *dhāraṇa* (retention of knowledge), *vijñāna* (wisdom), *ūha - apoha* (reasoning) and *tattvābhiniveśa* (attachment to right knowledge)[20]. Along with

---

16. Dyer G. W. Jr., 'Culture and Continuity in Family Firms', *Family Business Review*, Vol.1, Issue 1, 1988, p.24
17. अशस्त्रशूरः इव अशास्त्रः प्रज्ञावान् अपि भवति विद्विषांवशः । *Nītivākyāmṛtam*, V.27
18. अलोचनगोचरे ह्यर्थे शास्त्रं तृतीयं लोचनं पुरुषाणाम् । *Ibid.*, V.28
19. अनधीतशास्त्रः चक्षुष्मानपि पुमान् अन्ध एव । *Ibid.*, V.29
20. शुश्रूषाश्रवणग्रहणधारणविज्ञानोहापोह तत्त्वाभिनिवेशाः बुद्धिगुणाः । *Ibid.*, V.38

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

these personal requirements, a leader should remain devoted to the service of knowledgeable and credible persons because a person without the company of such dependable ones, gets ruined like an uncontrollable elephant[21]. KA[22] through *Vinayādhikārikam* lays stress on the continuous connection with *vidyāvṛddha*-s as that is the root of discipline.

The explanation herein can be viewed in connection with Howard Gardner's theory of multiple intelligence. Gardner explains eight types of intelligence which are–

1. Visual – Spatial Intelligence – People with this aspect are good at visualizing things and hence can put two things together and interpret them.
2. Linguistic – Verbal Intelligence – people with this aspect are good at reading, writing, memorizing things
3. Logical – Mathematical Intelligence – good at analysing problems and hence can solve complex situations better that others
4. Bodily – Kinaesthetic Intelligence – good at body movement, performing actions and physical control
5. Musical Intelligence – have good understanding of music and other related art forms
6. Interpersonal Intelligence – good at understanding and interacting with other people. They are also good at assessing others.
7. Intrapersonal Intelligence – well-aware of their own emotional states
8. Naturalistic Intelligence – People with this aspect are closer to nature

The requirement of intelligence for a leader or a king is multi-faceted as he is the person responsible for all-round progress of his kingdom. So, to fulfil these requirements, a person has to undergo a rigorous training in the field of theoretical as well as practical knowledge related to administration. At the same time, there is always a room for the assistance and guidance from experienced people. The

---

21. अजातविद्यावृद्धसंयोगो हि राजा निरङ्कुशो गज इव सद्यो विनश्यति । *Ibid.*, V.56
22. नित्यश्च विद्यावृद्धसंयोगो विनयवृद्ध्यर्थम्, तन्मूलत्वाद्विनयस्य । *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, I. 5.11

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

types of intelligence mentioned above are essential for a leader and can be acquired with one's own efforts. But, the level of maturity expected in a spearhead of an institute comes with observation of the behaviour of such experienced people. This might be the reason that even after procuring an academic degree at various branches of learning, we have a system of internship or a period of training which gives actual on-field experience to the candidates.

Mantrī (Ministers)

Mantrī or minister is the vital part of kingship organization. Hence, he should be from a good family, born in the same nation, pure in conduct, unaddicted to vices, chaste, schooled in all the sciences of administration, proficient in weaponry and tested with all the means prescribed, says Somadeva[23]. As all the actions by Kings follow secrete deliberations and planning with ministers, these ministers should be loyal and dependable. Otherwise, that leader becomes an easy prey to calamities like a person mounted on an uncontrolled elephant[24]. While explaining the importance of secret counsel, Somadeva warns that the trouble caused by leakage of secret deliberations and planning, is often irreparable.

Somadeva almost follows Kauṭilya while describing the number of ministers in the assembly. He says, let there not be only one minister as he will act without any restraint and can get confused in difficult situations. Even two ministers should not be appointed as with mutual contract they may prove hazardous for the King and the kingdom. Hence, the number of ministers should be three, five or seven. So, the desires of king assisted by many bear fruit[25].

Svāmī (King / Leader)

The necessity of having a king is well evident through various accounts occurring in the literature related to polity and administration. In keeping with this thought, NV declares that without a King, subjects even though prosperous are not able to

---

23. स्वदेशजम् आचाराभिजनविशुद्धम् अव्यसनिनम् अव्यभिचारिणम् अधीताखिलव्यवहारतन्त्रम् अस्त्रज्ञम् अशेषोपाधिविशुद्धं च मन्त्रिणं कुर्वीत । *Nītivākyāmṛtam*, X.5
24. सव्यसनसचिवो राजा आरूढव्यालगज इव सुलभापायः । *Ibid.*, X.9
25. बहुसहाये राज्ञि प्रसीदन्ति सर्व एव मनोरथाः । *Ibid.*, X.78

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

direct or control themselves[26]. Hence, a person devoted to righteousness, having good character and noble family background, follower of morality and political prudence can be called as a leader[27]. The king apart from being well-versed in scriptural and political knowledge; should be very well acquainted with *lokavyavahāra*, i.e. worldly behaviour[28].

He should be approachable[29] for the subjects as approachability is one of the important qualities for the King. An inaccessible king is sure to create confusion in day-to-day business and fall prey to public disaffection and deceit by enemies[30].

Concept of 'Individualized Consideration' put forward by Bernard Bass states that a leader should be considerate enough towards the individual contribution of his subordinates. One-on-one mentorship helps in building the relations as well as proves crucial for the leadership to work. While describing the necessity of King's approachability for the ministers as well as for the subjects, the political thinkers have exactly the same idea.

Divasānuṣṭhāna (Daily Duties)

For achieving the goals set forward, a King or a leader needs to have an organized routine. Somadeva invests 111 aphorisms for explaining do's and don'ts for a king. Though he has not dealt with this part on an hourly basis, it is very interesting to see that even the minute aspects of human life have been given importance by him.

He says, a King should wake up towards the last part of the night. After waking up he should think about the works to be performed in that day[31]. Of course, he

---

26. अस्वामिकाः प्रकृतयः समृद्धा अपि निस्तरितुं न शक्नुवन्ति । *Ibid.*, XVII.4
27. धार्मिकः कुलाचाराभिजनविशुद्धः प्रतापवान् नयानुगतवृत्तिश्च स्वामी । *Ibid.*, XVII.1
28. लोकव्यवहारज्ञो हि सर्वज्ञः अन्यस्तु प्राज्ञोऽप्यवज्ञायत एव । *Ibid.*, XVII.60
29. प्रजाकार्यं स्वयमेव पश्येत् । *Ibid.*, XVII.34
30. दुर्दर्शो हि राजा कार्याकार्यविपर्यासमासन्नैः कार्यते अतिसन्धीयते च द्विषद्भिः । *Ibid.*, XVII.36
31. ब्राह्ममुहूर्ते उत्थाय इतिकर्तव्यतायां समाधिमुपेयात् । *Ibid.*, XXV.1

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

should have a pleasant sleep, as a mind content with complete sleep can contemplate upon all sorts of crucial matters[32].

While prescribing the daily routine for a leader, Somadeva gives utmost importance to physical cleansing as well as exercises[33]. He also advises not to withhold the bodily urges on account of engagement in some work. As an unsteady utensil cannot cook food properly, likewise a body with ailments cannot be effectively productive[34]. It is a well-known fact that a healthy mind resides in a healthy body. For a King who has the responsibility of entire kingdom, both the things are of equal importance. Further he suggests that the proper time for taking meals is when a person feels hungry. Hence, if there is no appetite, nothing should be consumed[35]. So, he prescribes moderate intake of food and also advises to not to transgress the time of hunger.

Time management is also taken care of by the author. He says, performing actions disregarding the distribution of time is like inviting death[36]. At the same time, urgent works should be dealt with on priority basis. There should not be any time loss[37]. One of the most important points from a leader's perspective is control of emotions. A king should not transgress or dishonour persons worthy of respect even if he is highly angry[38]. He underlines the importance of *jñānavṛddha, tapovṛddha* and *vayovṛddha* which are to be always respected by a King. They inspire him to administer the kingdom efficiently.

With the kingly duties, the king should also be careful about his own protection[39]. He should not visit any place without thorough investigation[40].

---

32. सुखनिद्राप्रसन्ने हि मनसि प्रतिफलन्ति सर्वा बुद्धयः यथार्थाः । *Ibid.*, XXV.1
33. नित्यमदन्तधावनस्य नास्ति मुखशुद्धिः । न कार्यव्यासङ्गेन शारीरं कर्मोपहन्यात् । *Ibid.*, XXV.7-8
34. अघट्टितमपिहितं च भाजनं न खलु साधु साधयत्यन्नानि । *Ibid.*, XXV.22
35. बुभुक्षाकालः एव भोजनकालः । अक्षुधितेनामृतमप्युपभुक्तं विषं भवति । *Ibid.*, XXV.29-30
36. कालानियमेन कार्यानुष्ठानं हि मरणसमम् । *Ibid.*, XXV.69
37. अवश्यं कर्तव्ये कालं न यापयेत् । *Ibid.*, XXV.71
38. अतिक्रुद्धोऽपि न मान्यमतिक्रामेदवमन्येत वा । *Ibid.*, XXV.71
39. आत्मरक्षायां कदाचिदपि न प्रमाद्येत । *Ibid.*, XXV.72
40. नाप्राशोधितं परस्थानमुपेयात् । *Ibid.*, XXV.81

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

All the points stated above, definitely indicate towards the importance of a leader in any set-up. As he is personally responsible for all the undertakings for his state or institution, he has to be careful enough for his own health and security. For achieving the same, these are the guidelines by which a leader should abide by.

Observations and Conclusion

Leadership, broadly can be of three types – Autocratic Leadership, Bureaucratic Leadership, Charismatic Leadership.

NV of Somadeva through the explanation of 32 *samuddeśa*-s tries to highlight the importance of charismatic leadership for the sustainable usage of both autocratic and bureaucratic concepts of leadership to be implemented as and when needed. He focusses to create an idealistic atmosphere which will influence and encourage the subordinates to achieve their goals in occupational as well as personal life. Political philosophers like Kauṭilya have given more importance to practical approach towards achieving administrative goals, whereas Somadeva's NV has an influence of Jain philosophy on it, thereby giving it the idealistic touch.

In 1985, Bernard Bass – an Industrial Psychologist recorded idealized influence as one of the four essential factors for transformational leadership. He stated that leaders can use their own example for motivating the subordinates. As the leader *practices what he says*, the subordinates will follow his example. Through this concept of idealized influence, the transformational leader can start building relationships, which are based on trust and respect. By taking risks, following the core values and convictions, and showing strong moral ideals, the leader will begin to develop a sense of confidence from the subordinates that he is a serious leader.

To conclude, Somadeva's idea of holistic leadership is based on morality. He has composed this treatise to train the princes. His political ideas are directly related with life and hence the core principle of *nīti* is very important from the point of view of Somadeva. But at times, he lacks an insight into the political process of his times which distinguishes him from Kauṭilya to a great extent. However, the text can be regarded as a gateway for the study of concepts and policies described in KA.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Bibliography

Books -

1. Altekar A.S., *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1934
2. Carter Louis, Ulrich David, Goldsmith Marshall (Eds.), *Best Practices in Leadership Development and Organization Change*, Pfeiffer, San Francisco, 2005
3. Kangle R. P. (ed. & tr.), *Kautiliya Arthashastra* (Marathi), Maharashtra Rajya Sahitya Samskriti Mandala, Mumbai, 2011 (1982)
4. Majumdar R.C., *Ancient India*, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, 2007
5. Sastri Nilakantha K. A., *A History of South India – from Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijaynagar*, Oxford University Press, London (Printed at India), 1958
6. Shah Urmi (ed.), *Nītiprakāśikā of Vaiśampāyana*, National Mission for Manuscripts & D. K. Printworld, New Delhi, 2014
7. *Somadeva Suri kruta Nītivākyāmṛtam*, Tr. Sudhir Kumar Gupta, Prakrit Bharati Academy Jaipur and Modi Foundation, Calcutta, 1987

Research Articles -

1. Dyer Gibb W. Jr., 'Culture and Continuity in Family Firms', *Family Business Review*, Vol.1, Issue 1, 1988, pp.18 – 24
2. Mazumdar B. P., 'Somadevasuri on the Art of Administration', *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol.11, No. 2, 1950, pp. 45 – 51
3. Mishra K. K., 'The Study of Ancient Indian Political Traditions', *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol.65, No. 1, 1950, pp. 09 – 20

Web references –

1. https://www.cleverism.com/transformational-leadership-guide
2. http://journals.sagepub.com
3. https://howardgardner.com/papers/

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

A REVIEW OF INDIA-THAILAND TRADING INTERFACE IN EARLY ERA: AS REPORTED FROM THE EXCAVATIONS IN THAILAND

Bhaswati Mukhopadhyay*

Abstract : The interaction between India and Thailand can be traced back to pre-Common Era. From the archaeological and literary evidence, it is proved that ancient Thailand had an extensive commercial connection with India. Since the decade of seventies of the twentieth century, our knowledge of archaeological records expanded tremendously. Unearthed artifacts from various excavated sites of Thailand, assured keen mercantile contacts between two countries since the late first millennium B.C.E. Pottery, nephrite ornaments, glass and semi-precious stone beads, bronze bowls, as well as bronze kettle drums and ceremonial weapons were the most important artifacts as reported from the various excavated sites. This article aims to present a picture of commercial interaction between India and Thailand in third century B.C.E. to third century C.E.

Keywords: India, Thailand/Siam, archaeology, excavation, trade, merchants, semi precious stones, beads, ceramics, bronze vessels.

Introduction

The interaction between India and Thailand (or ancient Siam) as well as various countries of Southeast Asia can be traced back to pre-first millennium. It is generally acknowledged that from the late pre Christian era to 12^{th}-13^{th} century CE, approximately, people from more or less all parts of India went to the countries of Southeast Asia both by sea route or land route. Sea routes are frequently used for travelling as crossing high mountain terrain was rather difficult.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO.124, Vol. 69, 2020, pp.149-174.

* Department of History, Sitananda College, Purba Medinipur, West Bengal
M: 9830386872, Email: bhaswati1604@gmail.com

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

India played a crucial role in the material and cultural history of Southeast Asia during the early part of Common Era. The early Indian impact on Southeast Asia is mainly due to increased trade and commerce. So, truly the first catalyst of the relation between India and Southeast Asia was trade, no doubt. The mineral wealth and fertile soil of Southeast Asia attracted the attention of Indian mercantile community. The Indic mercantile community went there since pre Christian era. Siam had been culturally more precisely linking through mercantile network with India more than 2000 years ago, as the archaeological findings as well as the ancient Indian literatures evidenced it. The archaeological and literary sources have well proved this trading connection between India and Thailand. It is admitted that the knowledge of India reached in Siam and other Southeast Asian regions first by the mercantile community of India or according to the Vedic caste system, the *Vaiśya* or merchant group of people. Gold, tin, spices (clove, pepper and nutmeg), aromatic woods like sandalwood, fragrant resin (camphor), silk and precious stones were among the most important products of the countries and islands associated with *Suvarṇabhūmi* and *Suvarṇadvipa*. Like other countries of early Southeast Asia India had a very prosperous mercantile relation with Siam or Thailand since late pre Christian era. This article aims to discuss the mercantile connection proved by the archaeological sources between early India and Siam or Thailand from third century B.C.E to third century C.E., i.e., the era since Maurya to the emergence of Gupta in Indian history, exclusively.

Reasons Behind the Growth of Overseas Trade with Southeast Asia

It is fascinating to describe the various reasons for growing the maritime trade in late pre Christian and early Common Era. Firstly, due to internal disturbances in the Central Asian steppe region, caravan routes from Central Asia no longer provided gold from Siberian deposits, one of the major sources of the precious metal in the Asian worlds in earliest times. Since gold was the medium of Asian trade, new sources had to be found to cover trade imbalances. The emperor Vespasian (A. D. 69-79) made an official attempt to stop the unfavorable flow of gold coins away from Rome. As a consequence, Indian merchants began looking toward the mythical wealth of the "Islands of Gold" with keen interest and embarked on a major effort to secure these riches. Secondly, the quest for gold

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

coincided with the revolution in construction of vessels and nautical techniques. Thirdly, the first century marked a great age of Buddhism in South Asia. Buddhism did not view commercial activity as negatively as did the Brahmanical tradition. Jātakas came to deal extensively with the activities of the common men, including their economic activities, normally ignored in Brahmanical literature. In these tales the pursuit of wealth was not seen as evil but was considered natural to man. Buddhist merchants were particularly devoted to the Buddha Dīpaṅkara, the "Calmer of the Waters." Kenneth Hall (2005, 36-37) described, significantly, a number of outstanding Dīpaṅkara statues associated with this era are distributed throughout the Southeast Asian archipelago. In the present article, we are trying to analyse the Indo-Siamese commercial activities since third century B.C.E. The important factor behind this selection is that, around this time frame India was under Maurya sway and it was an era of expanding economy. Though agriculture was the primary sector of economy, commercial activities or *vāṇijya* was equally important. It presumes that Kauṭilya, the author of *Arthaśāstra*, implicated the importance of trade for receiving additional revenue. Let's talk about the sea route also.

Trade Routes and Indian Sea-ports

From the evidence available it seems that the merchants from India began to cross the seas, and enter the lands of Indonesia from the beginning of the Christian era onwards, and it would appear that we have different routes to consider for this emigration overseas. Whole of India's eastern coast had basic trade contacts either with southern or central Thailand. Thapar (1966, 163) opined, the ports of the east coast Tamralipti, Ghantasala and Kadura handled the north Indian trade with Southeast Asia. We may assume that the merchants took two ways to go to the eastern side of Malay. Some passed through the straits of Malacca; while some others went through the safer route overland to the east coast. Wales said that, there are two possible routes. The two in the north, the Mergui-Pracuab crossing and the well-known Kra route and the two southern routes pass from Trang on the West coast respectively to Nakhon Si Thammarat and Patalung. These routes served to spread the waves of Indian culture and commerce from Takua Pa to the Further East. He spoke of mercantile colonies of Wieng Sra, Caiya and Nakhon Si Thammarat. There were enough number of ports throughout the eastern sea board

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

of India which are responsible for the sea faring activities between India and Southeast Asia. The great sea ports of Tamralipti, Dharanikota, Arikamedu, Dantapura, Ganjam, Kalingapattnam, Masulipattnam, Paloura, Murichipattana, Kaveripattnam or Poompuhar etc. are well known at that time. The description of the port of Kaveripattanam or Poompuhar with its seashore godowns, foreign merchants and markets is so realistic in Tamil literature. The statements of two Tamil poets about Muchiri are worth noting. According to the two poets, Moti Chandra (1977, 14-15) wrote, "the foreign ships bring gold to the sea port of Muchiri within the boundary of Kerala passing the frothy water of the Periyar river. This gold was transferred from larger ships to smaller boats. Bags of black pepper were brought from houses to markets and merchants loaded them on ships in exchange for gold. At Muchiri the music of the waves never stopped." On the other side, Takua Pa, Nakhon Si Thammarat and Chaiya were the chief sea ports of Thailand situated in the peninsular of Thailand.

India- Thailand trading networks as evidenced by archaeological data is significant to understand the parameter of early India-Siam interaction. Our knowledge of the archaeological record within Southeast Asia has expanded tremendously since the early 1970s especially for Thailand, Indonesia and Malaysia. In much of mainland Southeast Asia and in the mercantile states of the Malay Peninsula and Indonesia, overseas exchanges began as early as the mid of first millennium B. C. E. Pierre Yves Manguin (2004 ,290) has rightly inferred that the progress in the archaeology of early historical sites since 70s of the last decade is also finished the long standing gap between the prehistory and the classical Southeast Asia. Discovered artifacts from various excavated sites of Thailand, assured keen mercantile and cultural contacts between two countries at a much earlier date than inscriptions and Brahmanical and Buddhist sculptures would propose. A large number of Sanskrit inscriptions belonging to fourth or fifth century C. E. have been ascribed from diverse parts of Malay Peninsula. It has been mentioned that since the Gupta period, the Indian influence to Southeast Asia spread through Vaṅga and the Andhra country and further south. This information is further illustrated by the stone inscription of the great mariner (*mahānāvika*) Buddhagupta, who after the successful achievement of his voyage

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

setting up the stone. This inscription was unearthed in the northern District of Wellesley Province in Malay Peninsula. The inscription is written in Brahmi and dated about the 5th century C.E. The sailor himself hailed from Raktamrittika, identifiable with Chiroti in the Murshidabad district of West Bengal. Colonel Low discovered this inscription but the precise detail of the transfer of this inscription to India is not known. (Ray, 2013, 33) The Buddhagupta inscription is now in Indian Museum, Kolkata.

The archaeological data available from a variety of early metal age sites of Thailand have provided proof of overseas exchange networks. Virtually all new data on early mercantile networks are likely to come from archaeological evidences rather than from literary sources. It is clear from the excavated sites and multifarious traded materials that there was intensive mercantile connection between India and Siam. Of course, this intensive trading network was possible for the trading capability of Indian as well as the indigenous mercantile community of Siam.

Archaeological Evidences

Archaeological excavations in Thailand (Siam) have unearthed a range of objects of Indian origin and they have pushed back the connectivity between India and Siam to pre Christian era. Manguin (1996, 181) affirmed that evidences provided through Southern Indian roulette ware and bronze artifacts established trading links with India and Siam early as the last centuries B.C.E. Raschke (1978, 653) is apprehensive regarding commercial links between India and Thailand which were not on a regular basis until third to sixth century C. E. There are two categories of findings which provide the evidence for exchange between India and Siam at the pre Common Era, as Glover(1996, 139) has pointed out, these were beads and some of the bronze vessels. Other items which were profuse at the sites, such as low fired earthen wares and forged iron tools and weapons. Pottery, nephrite ornaments, glass and semi precious stone beads, bronze bowls, as well as bronze kettle drums, bells, urns and ceremonial weapons facilitate the archeologists to classify these early regional networks.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

At the outset, we can divide the findings in two points in time. Just about third century B.C.E. to first century C.E. the important excavated artifacts of Indo-Siamese trade discovered from Ban Don Ta Phet, Ban Khao, and Aug Bha cave in Kanchanaburi, Kok Plub in Rachaburi, Lopburi, Ban Tar Prasat in Nakhon Ratchima and Ban Chiang in Udhon Thani. Between first to third century Pong Tuk, U Thong, Nakhon Pathom, Lopburi, Chansen, Sri Mahosot, Khao Sam Kaeo, Chaiya, Takua Pa, Phu Khao, Thong, Khuan Lukpad had developed as important trading centres and multifarious artifacts were reported from these central, eastern and southern sites of ancient Siam.

During first three centuries of the Common Era, which is perceptibly the second segment of my discussion, trade relations between India and Siam became extremely widespread. Trade goods from Indian ports to Siam were included glass beads, stone beads made from varieties of semi- precious stones, ivory combs, ivory or bone dice, as well as Mediterranean made objects such as bronze Roman lamps, intaglio seals, local imitations of Roman arretine ware and Indo-Roman rouletted pottery bowls. It assumes that, during this phase more or less every region of Siam participated in Indo-Siamese trading function.

Bellina Berenice (2003, 285-297) showed that for over two millennia, there was extensive exchange for prestige goods, including marine shell, marble shell and bronze, fashioned into impressive personal ornaments. During the second half of the first millennium B.C.E. this list was joined by beads made by carnelian, agate and glass. According to her, some beads may have been made to order in India, but it is also likely that Indian craftsmen worked under the patronage of emerging leaders of Southeast Asia. During this phase, the semiprecious stones agate and carnelian, and to a lesser extent rock crystal and nephrite, were used for most of the beads and pendants widely found in Southeast Asia, replacing the softer materials such as serpentine, limestone, marble and shell used to make ornaments. (Bellina and Glover, 2004, 74)These new types of ornament have chiefly been discovered unevenly distributed in burials, indicating that, they were probably the valued possession of emerging elite who used them in life, as in death, as indicators of status. (Glover, 1996, 134)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

In association with Indo-Siamese trade evidences, archaeological excavations in Ban Chiang are the earliest source of information known so far. Following an excavation at Ban Chiang in Northeast Thailand it assumes that bronze was in use there before 1500 B. C. E. In 1982, the dating for the earliest Bronze grave goods at Ban Chiang was revised from the fourth to early second millennium B.C.E. (White Joyce, 2006, 91-104) The Iron age appeared in many sites in Thailand about 500-400 B.C.E. Charles Higham lists over 40 Iron Age sites in Thailand. Among these Ban Don Ta Phet in Kanchanaburi province and Khao Sam Kaeo in southern Thailand are the earliest. In western and southern Thailand iron seems to have arrived into a region without a well-developed 'High Bronze Age'. (Higham, 2002, 168) The arrival of iron in certain Southeast Asian zone is very fascinatingly described by Ian C. Glover (2010, 12). To him, in western and southern Thai-Malay Peninsula and southern Vietnam areas, which lacked the presence of powerful complex chiefdoms whose ruling elites were depended on the status and legitimacy offered by the control, trade in and ritual gift giving of spectacular and costly bronze objects. The iron, once it was known, was rapidly accepted in the middle of the first millennium B.C.E. following contacts with South Asian traders who also brought the knowledge of glass making and the skills to work semi precious hard stones such as agate and carnelian for valuable beads. Excavations in the last decade of twentieth century reported the development of localized exchange in raw materials and exotic products since the second century B.C.E. (Glover, 1996, 134) In particular, we can point to the presence of arm rings from such marine shell species at inland sites in Central Thailand such as Kok Charoen, Ban Kao, Ban Na Di, Tha Khae and Obluang in the northwest, hard volcanic stone suitable for making polished adzes from the hills of Thai-Cambodian border into the coastal lowlands and the import of lead, tin, copper ores and metal to sites such as Ban Chiang and Non Nok Tha also in Northeast Thailand. (Bernett, 1989, 329-351)

Semi-precious Stones and Beads

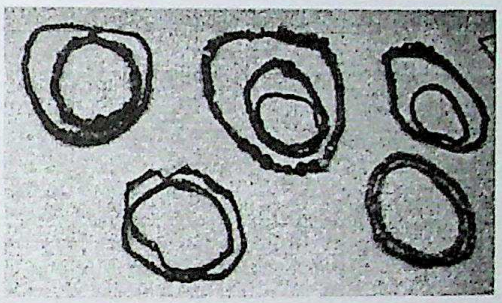
Surveys and excavations in numerous sites in Siam have brought to light diversified stones and beads (**Pic 1**) which proved that early Siam had close mercantile links with not only India but also with the Mediterranean world and

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

China; albeit we focus exclusively on Indo-Siamese trade connection. From the early burial sites like Ban Don Ta Phet in west-central Siam, archaeological excavations yielded more than 3,000 beads of glass, crystal, agate and carnelian of Indian origin. In context of archaeological provenance of early India-Siam trading networks Ban Don Ta Phet attained an important place. This site commands the eastern approach to the Three Pagodas Pass, a trading route linking the Chao Phraya plains with the Gulf of Martaban and ultimately, India. From the exchange network, glass, carnelian and agate ornaments, including a carnelian figure of lion were discovered from this site. The rich finds of agate and carnelian beads are discovered not only from Bon Don Ta Phet but also from Khuan Lukpad and Khao Sam Kaeo in southern Siam. Roman carnelian intaglios with scenes from mythology were also found from Khlong Thom or Khuan Lukpad in southern Siam. (Chaisuwan, 2011, 84-85) Apart from etched beads, there is one large carnelian pendant carved in the form of a leaping lion unearthed from Khuan Lukpad which is almost certainly Indian in origin. No precise parallel for this pendant is known and small lion pendants reported from Khlong Thom and other locations in south Thailand. Moreover, carnelian intaglios depicted animal motifs such as an elephant and a pair of fighting cock unearthed from Khuan Lukpad. Chaisuwan (2011, 107) mentioned that Khao Sam Kaeo located on the east coast of South Thailand also has reported carnelian seals inscribed with Brahmi characters of the first to fourth centuries C. E. U Thong in central Siam and Ban Chiang in north-east Siam where Indian origin etched carnelian beads have been discovered. (Glover, 1989, 24) For a long time it has been assumed that, all the agate and carnelian found in Southeast Asia in the early period originated in India. (Bellina and Glover, 2004, 76)This is because South Asian workshops developed the highly skilled techniques to make fine beads out of these hard stones. Furthermore, no beads made of these materials have yet been found in Southeast Asian contexts prior to the Iron Age. (Bellina and Glover, 2004, 77) From the early centuries onwards, we found evidence of local manufacture at Khuan Lukpad. Apart from etched beads, there is one large carnelian pendant carved in the form of a leaping lion which is almost certainly Indian in origin. No precise parallel for these pendants are known and small lion pendants from Khlong Thom and other locations in south Thailand. They are closest to smaller crouching lion

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

pendants, commonly found in the Buddhist reliquaries of the Gandhara Civilisation (Marshall, 1951) However a particularly common representation was of Buddha as a lion, a reference to him as *Śākyasiṁha* (or the Lion of the *Śākya* Clan). It is highly feasible that the lion beads from Ban Don Ta Phet as well as the others were early Buddhist icons, and as such probably the earliest witness to Buddhist ideas and values yet recognized in Southeast Asia. (Glover, 1996, 140)



Pic. 1. Assorted stones and beads
Nakhon Si Thammarat Museum, Thailand
(Photo: author)

Oblate and spherical black glass beads with white stripes belonging to North Indian tradition have been found Prasat Muang Sing and Ban Chi Nam must also be brought into the picture.(Jahan, 2008, 575) This very specialized bead manufacturing tradition originated 4,500 years ago in the Harappan period and such beads were widely manufactured in India from about 600 B.C.E. (Glover, 1996, 136)The presence of magnificent decorated stone beads in Siam in the late centuries B.C.E. may best be understood through the operation of exchange networks. (Glover, 1996, 136) Increased numbers of Alkaline-etched beads were unearthed from various sites of Thailand. Semi-precious stone beads, especially the etched beads reported from U Thong, Krabi, Khao Sam Kaeo, Ban Khao and Ban Don Ta Phet in Thailand and Wari-Bateswar, Mahasthan, Tamluk, Bangarh, Chandraketugarh, Harinarayanpur and Deulpota in India and Bangladesh. These included single specimens from Ban Chiang and Saraburi and 25 from the region around U Thong in addition to the 50 or so from Ban Don Ta Phet. Allan Lamb suggested that, the evidence of trade contact with India during Maurya-Śuṅga periods was revealed at Ban Khok Raka (Chonburi province). Here a number of glass and stone beads, typical products of India during the late Iron Age, have

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

been reported. Another item of Indian origin early trade item was glass beads in variety of shapes and colours, commonly referred to as the *mutisalah* beads[1] (Lamb, 1965, 87-124) found Khlong Thom and Takua Pa of Siam. On the basis of present studies, Francis (1987, 97-118) has described that the *mutisalah* beads were made by a unique glass tube drawing process still used in the villages of southern Andhra Pradesh. Lamb (1965, 95) postulated the view that the chronology of *mutisalah* beads started in India with the megaliths of Kerala, Mysore and Madras and later into mediaeval Chola times.

Bellina and Glover (2004, 76) documented that for a long time it has been assumed that, all the agate and carnelian found in Southeast Asia in the early period originated in India. This is because South Asian workshops developed the highly skilled techniques to make fine beads out of these hard stones. Furthermore, no beads made of these materials have yet been found in Southeast Asian contexts prior to the Iron Age. From the early centuries onwards, we found evidence of local manufacture at Khuan Lukpad and Kuala Selinsing, (the site which is comparable to Khuan Lukpad in its big range of exotic material), both on the western coast of the Thai-Malay Peninsula. (Bellina and Glover, 2004, 77) and it has been observed that, some Indian craftsmen probably settled in Southeast Asia. At the time of the progression of local workshops the involvement of Indian influence in the specialized craft of bead making has noticed. Glass, mainly in the forms of beads, appeared commonly in archaeological sites in South and Southeast Asia in the first millennium B. C. E. Bellina and Glover(2004, 78) reported that the first glass is found in the middle of the first millennium B.C.E. at Iron Age sites in Peninsular and Central Siam. Ban Don Ta Phet is important because it has yielded the best dated and widest range of glass beads with secure contexts of any site in Southeast Asia.

1. The term *mutisalah* refers to precious beads, generally of orange colour, which were found in different regious of South east Asia. The earliest of these beads are known to have been manufacture in southern India.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Bronze Bowls and Vessels :

A type of bronze bowls of probable Indian origin, containing an alloy over 20% of tin was unearthed from Ban Don Ta Phet. Analyses these bowls Charles Higham (2002, 59) noted that these were ornamented with relaxed images of elegant women, animals, plants and structures and battles seen like the contemporary Dong son drums. Later in late, 70s the research of Rajpitak and Seeley (1979, 26-31) have proved the existence of high-tin bronze in Ban Don Ta Phet and they also proved this region was contemporary with Mahasthangarh of Bengal. The most important objects recovered from Ban Don Ta Phet were beads, bronze vessels and jewelry. The bronze vessels, made of high-tin bronze, were further known as vessels from Bengal origin. Fragment of high-tin bronze vessels have also been identified from Kok Khon in Sakorn Nakorn Province and this unusual alloy is also found in small quantities at Ban Chiang and Ban Nadi in northeast Thailand in the late prehistoric Iron Age levels. Examples of Bronze Kettle drums are also reported from Khao Sam Kaeo. High tin bronze was reported from Indian site like Adichanallur, Taxila and the Nilgiri hills. (Ray, 2013, 96) Nilgiri high tin bronze bowls are now in the British Museum. Bronson Bennett and Ian Glover (1990, 366-385) revealed high tin bronze bowls with remarkably similar swallow engraved scenes of animals in procession, people, house structures and lotus leaves blistering from the base of bowl. They have been recovered from a site disturbed by tin mining at Huai Pan near Chombung, Ratchaburi province in the 90s of the last decade.

Bronze vessels with a central cone appears to be the most ancient container type indicating links between India and Siam, occurring from Ban Don Ta Phet, a cave at Khao Kwark in Ratchaburi Province (where a Dong Son Drum[2] was also recovered) and from looted sites around Lopburi. (Glover, 1996, 143) Examples of this type of container made from earthenware, stone, bronze and silver have been found widely dispersed in many different cultural settings in the Indian subcontinent. (Glover, 1996, 142) About thirty vessels made from high tin bronze were found during the excavations at Ban Don Ta Phet.

---

2. Dong Son Drums was first discovered in Vietnam. It symbolized the maritime Bronze Age culture of Southeast Asia..

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

The function of these knobbed-base vessels is not clear. It is supposed that containers, whether of stone, bronze or ceramic, served some special function for ritual and funeral use only. Glover mentioned that, these are witness to the acceptance in Siam, by some groups of Indian moral, philosophical and political concepts. (Glover, 1996, 143)

Ceramics

Rouletted ware or wheel made ceramic (**Pic 2**) constitutes a very distinguished item in the evidence for exchange between South and Southeast Asia. It has been well known in India since the excavations of Arikamedu[3] in 1940s. The knobbed ware pottery was first recognized at Sisupalgarh, an early historic site in Orisha. (Lal, 1948, 62-105) In the past decades, this unique ceramic form has been recognized at over a dozen sites in Bengal, Orisha and Ganga Valley. It occurs in a variety of fabrics but seems to be most common in a late phase of Northern Black Polished Ware which can be dated to the last centuries before the Common Era. (Glover, 1996, 142) But in Siam Knobbed earthen vessels were largely reported from Taxila. In addition, these materials have been found from Nagarjunakonda and coastal Orisha. The range of its date was from around the third to second centuries B.C. E to the early centuries of the Common Era.

---

3. Arikamedu is excavated by eminent archaeologist Wheeler. The findings from Arikamedu, southeastern sea board of India, bears witness to the range of the luxury products transported between Rome and China during the first centuries of the Common Era. Archaeological excavations at Arikamedu have shown that its exports to the West included pepper, pearls, gems, muslins, tortoise shell, ivory and silks. Imports from the West were coral, lead, copper, tin, glass, vases, lamps, wines and coined money. The excavation at Arikamedu brought to light several materials belonging to the Roman trades. Roman intaglios, Roman ceramics and pieces of amphora jars and rouletted wares were discovered. Though no distinguishable Roman coins were reported from this place, other materials suggested the frequent visits of Roman merchants here. The port seems to have survived from the 1st century before the Common Era to the early centuries of the Common Era. It lost its importance sometime during the 3rd century C. E. when the Roman trade slowly stopped.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

The function of these knobbed-base vessels is not clear. It is supposed that containers, whether of stone, bronze or ceramic, served some special function for ritual and funeral use only. Glover (1996, 143) mentioned that, these are witness to the acceptance in Siam, by some groups of Indian moral, philosophical and political concepts. Bouvet (2012, 47-81) analysed the participation of Khao Sam Kaeo in the maritime trade of ceramics of South Asian origin and the movement of Indian potters in peninsular Thailand.

Pic 2. Wheel made pottery
Nakhon Si Thammarat Museum
(Photo: author)

Around the beginning of the Common Era, there was a change in the nature of maritime contacts of Southeast Asia with the Indian subcontinent. Ray (1994, 81) mentioned as against the early demand for prestige goods by Iron Age communities, the items now imported present a larger variety. Most of the archaeological evidence now consists of Southeast Asian ceramics inspired by Indian models. These include the *Kuṇḍika* and Kendi pottery types, and stamped and moulded ceramics, which visibly show the adoption of Indian forms and decorative techniques. Central part of early Thailand was another point of contact with India. *Kuṇḍika* vessels were easily identifiable in the Mon sites of Dvaravati culture in Central Thailand. (Glover, 1996, 143) Some sherds of black polished pottery can be counted as direct imports from India. Glass and stone beads still came from India along the oceanic trade routes. But local mechanized in an Indian

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

tradition is now beyond doubt and as Prof. Ray (1994, 82) pointed out that it is not easy to separate imported products from parochial products on the data so far available. Most often, the ceramics with red colour and the stamped or moulded decoration were found in major early historic sites such as Mathura, Ujjain, Chichli and Paithan, was consisted of symbolic motifs like the *śrīvatsa*, the *cakra*, the *swastika*, the *haṁsa*, plant motifs like rosettes and leaves or geometrical motifs. (Ray, 1994, 143) Local adaptations of this stamped or moulded ceramic type were found in Thailand, in sites such as Chansen. Sherds with a band of rosettes from Nakhon Pathom in Central Thailand strongly resemble example excavated in Kondapur, Andhra Pradesh. (Bellina and Glover, 2004, 82)

The Ivory Comb: A Unique Artifact

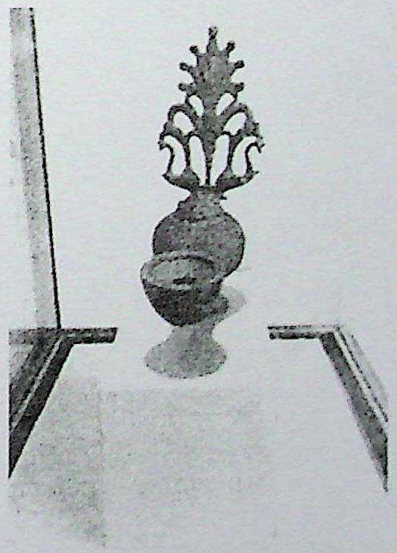
An ivory comb of Indian origin engraved with a pair of horses, a goose and with Buddhist symbols has been unearthed which is dated between first to third centuries C.E. (Bronson and Dales, 1978, 28-30) Discussing about India-Siam trading networks, Phasook Indrawooth (2004, 125) particularly mentioned this exclusive ivory comb, clearly of Indian manufacture. It was inscribed on one side with a design depicting an ornate goose or *haṁsa* and on the other side with a pair of horses beneath a row of auspicious emblems (rising sun, *pūrṇaghaṭa*, *śrīvatsa*, *śīaṅkha*, *cāmara*) discovered from Chansen. In Taxila, India, we notice similar combs made of ivory and bones dating first century C. E.

Western Objects

It is fascinating to discuss the western objects which were reported from various early Siamese sites. Archaeological discoveries in Thailand (as well as Southeast Asia) have revealed objects of Mediterranean origin. The Bronze lamp (**Pic 3**) of Mediterranean provenance from Pong Tuk in Central Siam presumes an example of a long distance trade. Alastair Lamb (1997, 445) opined that, it helps explaining how Southeast Asia may have entered into the 'known world' and found its place in the Geography of Claudius Ptolemy, writing in the second century C. E. These discoveries proved the connectivity of Southeast Asia with Rome in the 2nd century C. E. and of course India participated here as a mediator. Brigitte Borrell (2008, 15) mentioned that, the lamp from Pong Tuk proves

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

evidence for long distance trade links connecting Southeast Asia with regions as far away as Egypt and the Mediterranean well after the heyday of the so-called Indo-Roman trade. (Borrell, 2008, 15) On the contrary, Robert L. Brown (1989, 17) put forward a different hypothesis regarding Southeast Asia and western world contact. To him, the nature and date of contact should need reconsideration. Prior to the 4^{th}-5^{th} centuries C. E., Southeast Asia's western contact was with India, not directly with the west. The 'western' materials found in Southeast Asia, that dates to this early period is probably best regarded as Indian, in the sense that it consists of Indian-made objects based on western models. Even if those were manufactured in the western world, probably they were regarded as 'Indian' by the Southeast Asians. So, it assumes that Southeast Asian contact with west at that time was uncertain.

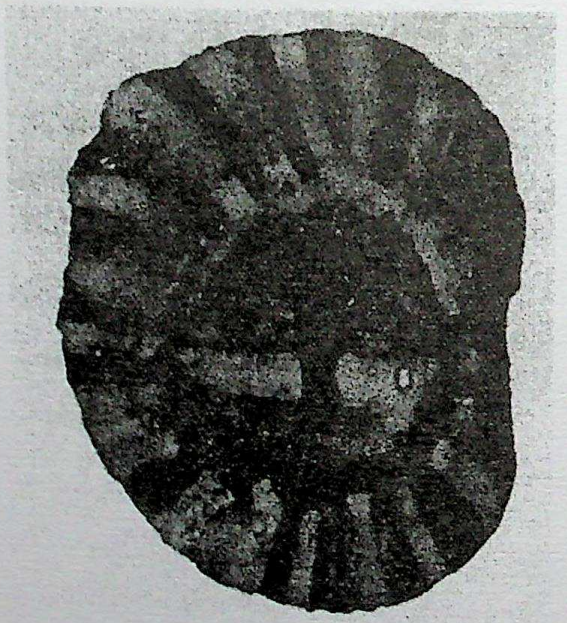


Pic 3 Bronze Lamp of Pong Tuk
Bangkok National Museum, Thailand
(Photo: author)

The objects like intaglios with scenes of the elephants, a lion, an unidentified woman and some seals with Pallava inscriptions were unearthed at the Khlong Thom site. (Glover, 1996, 135) Some of these seals were purely western, classical

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

in style while others were undoubtedly Indian. One important type of artifact was the glass 'face beads' (**Pic 4**): they are adorned with sun like figure and stripes which are similar to Roman beads. Roman carnelian intaglios with scenes from mythology were also found from Khlong Thom or Khuan Lukpad in southern Siam. (Chaisuwan, 2011, 84-85) These discoveries well proved the trading connections between Roman Empire and early Thailand via India. In this connection Prasad (1977, 143) explained that, the early centuries of the Common Era in western world the demand for oriental luxury items was increasing considerably and since this could not be fulfilled from Indian sources alone, the Indian merchants found a regular source of supply of minerals, spices and aromatics in Southeast Asia.



Face Bead
Source: Boonyarit Chaisuwan

Discovery of Indian Coins

A number of Indian coins are reported from trading centres like Ban Tha Kae and Khuan Lukpad. At the first site, a silver or lead coin was discovered depicting an elephant, probably of Sātavāhana origin. At Khuan Lukpad a copper coin was found bearing a humped bull on the obverse and a double-masted ship on the reverse which were popular symbol of the Pallavas. During that period, etched

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

beads were found at two important port sites of Siam: Khlong Thom and Khao Sam Kaeo. This discovery well proved the regular trading interaction between two countries since late second century B.C.E.

Some Important Commercial Centres in Southern and Central Thailand

The site of Khuan Lukpad or Khlong Thom is known for its glass and semi-precious stone beads. Chaisuwan proved that Khuan Lukpad, the large glass and stone bead producing site was active during the first half of the first millennium C. E. (Chaisuwan, 2011, 84) It appears that the shift of part of the bead production from India to Southeast Asia coastal sites during this period is indicative of the growing dynamics of regional trade. Artifacts other than beads found at this place also provide evidence for long distance trade. Roman intaglios and glassware, as well as Indian coins from across the Bay of Bengal and locally smelted tin for export to India. It is deduced that the stone and glass bead making and gold ornament making were introduced by Indian craftsmen to Siam in between the first century B.C.E. to third century C.E. This is evident from a touchstone of a goldsmith with Tamil-Brahmi inscription dating the third century of the Common Era. (Chaisuwan, 2011, 86) This very evidence does prove the existence of a Tamil settlement in Khuan Luk Pad. This early Tamil-Brahmi inscription was an inscribed touchstone belonging to a goldsmith of third century C.E. The text reads '*Perumpadan Kal*' (**Pic 5**) which means the (touch) stone belonging to the great goldsmith (in later Sanskrit inscriptions this professional designation *Perumpadan* occurs in its Sanskrit version as *mahāsuvarṇakāra*). (Ramesh K, 2012, 365) It is also worth noting that the oldest inscriptions from Thailand also came from Khuan Lukpad and had been engraved on carnelian seals, the earliest reading, '*rujjo*', carved in Brahmi of the first to third centuries C. E. (Ray, 1994, 105) Bronson described the site as more of a specialized manufacturing centre than an entrepot; a place where expatriate Indian craftsmen worked under the protection of an enterprising local ruler, importing some raw materials (glass cullet and agate blocks) as well as finished goods (beads and seals) and it lasted its activities over several centuries. (Glover, 2010, 213-230)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Pic 5 The Tamil-Brahmi inscription reported from Khuan Lukpad
Source: Boonyarit Chaisuwan

Another early bead making site at Khao Sam Kaeo on the east coast of the peninsula appears to parallel the activities of the earliest phase at Khlong Thom and further confirms the economic importance of bead trading activities in Southeast Asian waters during the early first millennium C. E. Khao Sam Kaeo significantly suggested the transfer of Indian stone ornament manufacturing technology to Thailand, thereby implying the significance of Indian artisans' settlement among local Southeast Asian craftsmen. Bellina and Silapanth (2006, 379-96) had argued in favour of settlement by Indian craftsmen as the stone ornament materials were made with Indian technologies responding to the specific demands of Southeast Asian exchange networks.

Ko Kho Khao, situated in peninsular Siam appears to have been another important centre of India-Siam trading network. A water tank discovered from this place and near the tank unearthed an inscription written in Tamil. This inscription is cited as evidence for an Indian commercial settlement on the peninsula during the 9th century C. E. The tank was placed under the protection of an Indian mercantile corporation called *Manigramam* from south India. O'Reilley (2007, 85) acknowledged that the participation of Guilds, more specifically merchants' guild (an organized group of traders) of south Indian merchants in overseas trade is attested by the presence of guild inscriptions in South Thailand.

The Kra Isthmus of the Malay Peninsula continued to play a significant role in early trade networks with India. Control of the Isthmus of Kra was vital for any

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

authority interested in trade as the Isthmus offered a substitute route to the Gulf of Siam. The land passage across the Isthmus was employed whenever instability in the straits threatened the security of merchants. Later, people started travelling by the trans-peninsular route from Ta Kua Pa to Bay of Ban Don. A site called Thung Tuk occasionally identified as Takola/Takkola, perhaps linked the trade systems on the west and east of the Thai Malay Peninsula. (Boonyarit, 2011, 107-9) Here, it should be mentioned that Takua Pa or Takkola, it was the most important port of ancient Siam through which Indo-Siam commercial activities were carried on.

In central Siam Nakhon Pathom, U Thong, Ku Bua has played an important role in India-Siam mercantile network. Apart from being regarded as a capital of Dvaravati kingdom, Nakhon Pathom had an important role as one of the trading centres of Dvaravati. A large number of terracotta seals and sealings and some amulets used by merchants have been found there. Phasook Indrawooth (1992, 163-73) drew attention to the amulets discovered in early Siam, asserting that, sea faring merchants used to carry with them, images of their gods and goddesses to ensure a safe voyage on the sea. A large number of terracotta seals engraving Gaja-Lakṣmī and Kubera have been found there. Archaeological excavations at Dvaravati sites like Nakhon Pathom, U Thong, Sab Champa, Chansen and others have unearthed double sided round terracotta medallions depicting Gaja Lakṣmī and Kubera, as well as some with Kubera and Gajalakṣmī on one face. Ku Bua was relatively a small early town and its coastal location would have facilitated participation in early trading networks. Not only with India, Indrawooth (2004, 130) recognized, Ku Bua had regular trading network with China also. A large number of Chinese ceramics recovered from this region. It is suggested that Ku Bua and Nakhon Pathom, both are inland, but accessible by small creeks and rivers. The coast line is unstable here; rivers silt and change course within a short period of time. Early maps shows Bangkok and Nakhon Pathom much closer to sea than they are now, and Ku Bua could well have been more conveniently situated for a trading centre a millennium ago than it is now. Trading network with Muang Sri Mahosot, located in Prachinburi province and India was indicated by polychrome striped glass beads as well as beads of agate and carnelian. (Indrawooth, 2004, 132) Other objects like Indian origin beads, gold jewelry,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation,Chandigarh.

stone bivalve moulds, bronze bells decorated with filigree spirals and earthenware stamps has been discovered from U Thong, Nakhon Pathom and Chansen.

Trading of Horse

Horse trading from Central Asia via Bengal to Southeast Asia may be discussed at this juncture to understand the India Siam Asia trade framework. Chakraborty (1992, 155f) narrated that the horses were used to be brought from Central Asia and through the northwest to Vaṅga and were exported to Southeast Asia. In a seal inscription, a horse was shown as being loaded into a ship. The export of horses from Tamralipti to Southeast Asia in the early centuries of the Christian era was clearly proved by the evidences of certain Chinese sources. The evidence was supported by the discoveries of Kharoshthi and Kharoshthi-Brahmi inscriptions during excavation in Thailand. The contact between Tamralipti (of the Vaṅga country) and Southeast Asia is suggested by the combined evidence of a passage in the Liang Shu and a statement of K'ang T'ai. According to the Liang Shu, during the era of the Wu dynasty in China (C. E. 220-280), a king of Fu nan sent an envoy called Su wu to India (T'ien-chu). It can be presumed that Tamralipti must have been the port used by Su-wu in taking the horses of the Yueh-chih country to Southeast Asia by a sea voyage.

Mukherjee (1996, 527-34) analysed that the term Yueh chih could have been well applied to the people hailing from the core area of the Kushana Empire with or without having any ethnic connection with the Kushanas. A settlement of such people in Southeast Asia was suggested by an evidence Ptolemy, which locates a place called Thagora, identifiable with the Gulf of Thailand (present Mui Bai Bung). Thagora is a site where an inscription in Kharoshthi-Brahmi was discovered. Another Kharoshthi-Brahmi inscription on a seal was found in area of U Thong in Thailand. So, it appears that the horse trading from central Asia to Southeast Asia through Bengal is an apt example of long distance trade. Horse as a mercantile commodity is quite different from other traded materials. Moreover, in this trade connection we notice Bengal-Siam rather India-Siam interaction.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Conclusion

Archaeological and inscriptional data from coastal sites of Indian sub- continent and also from different Siamese regions indicate intensive trading network from the late pre Common Era. Around the third to first centuries B.C.E., carnelian and glass beads, carnelian seals with Brahmi inscriptions and ivory objects from India were found at several sites on the mainland and maritime Thailand. These were the tangible indicators of these contacts. Other than tangible commodities there is a strong case for the import of spices, aromatics and woods into India at this time. These trading links between India and Siam continued to expand in the early centuries of the Common Era and provided channels for the transmission of ideas, skills and religious beliefs. *Pānis* or the merchant class was depicted in the Vedas. They were perhaps the pioneer pilots who dared to set their course from unknown lands and succeeded in making bridges among the two nations. These early pilots were the carriers of material culture. Truly, the first catalyst of the relation between India and Thailand was trade, no doubt. Discussing the effects of the mercantile interaction between South and Southeast Asia, McPherson (1993, 3) has rightly observed that, the essential unity of the Indian Ocean world was determined by the rhythms of long distance trade. The trading network made possible the journeys of Buddhist monks, Brahmin religious teachers and priestly classes and fortune hunters from India to Southeast Asia. The influence of cultural and artistic tradition of India flowed into Siam as well as entire Southeast Asia via sea route. Professional artisans were also known to travel. The migration or movement of large or small artifacts also took place because merchants or artisans were carrying those along with their belongings. So, in the conclusion, it may be assumed that early Indo-Thailand mercantile network allowed the populace and ideas to traverse the Ocean and eventually the eastward movement marked by the diffusion of Indian culture into Siam as well as entire Southeast Asia.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

References:

- Bennett A,"The Contribution of Archaeometallurgical Studies to Southeast Asian Archaeology", in *World Archaeology* 20(3), London, 1989
- Bernett and Glover, "Decorated High Tin Bronzes from Thailand's Prehistory" in Glover edited *Southeast Asian Archaeology*, Hull University, Yorkshire, 1990
- Berenice Bellina, "Beads, Social Change and Interaction between India and Southeast Asia", *Antiquity* 77/296, Cambridge, U.K, 2003
- Berenice B and Glover I, "The Archaeology of Early Contact with India and the Mediterranean World from Fourth Century B.C. to Fourth Century A.D." in Glover and Bellwood edited *Southeast Asia: from Prehistory to History*, Routledge, London, 2004
- Berenice B and Silapanth P, "Khao Sam Kaeo and Upper Thai Peninsula: Understanding the Mechanism of Early Trans-Asiatic Trade and Cultural Exchange" Bacus et.al. edited *Uncovering Southeast Asia's Past*, NUS, Singapore, 2006
- Bouvet P, "Preliminary Study of Indian and Indian Style Wares from Khao Sam Kaeo, Peninsular Thailand: Fourth to Second century B.C.E." in Manguin et.al edited *Early Interactions Between South and Southeast Asia*, Manohar Publishers, New Delhi, 2011
- Borrell B, "The Early Byzantine Lamp from Pong Tuk", *Journal of the Siam Society 98*, Bangkok, 2008
- Brown R, "The Pong Tuk Lamp: A Reconsideration" *Journal of the Siam Society77*, Bangkok, 1989
- Bronson and Dales, "Excavations in Chansen, 1968 & 69 a Preliminary Report", in *Asian Perspectives* XI, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 1978
- Chaisuwan B, "Early Contacts between India and the Andaman Coast" in Manguin et.al. *Early Interaction between South and Southeast Asia*, Manohar Publishers, New Delhi, 2011
- Chakraborty R, "Maritime Trade in Horse in Early Historical Bengal: A Seal from Chandraketugarh", *Pratnasamiksha*, Kolkata, 1992

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

- Chandra Moti, *Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India*, Abhinav Prakashan, New Delhi, 1977
- Francis P, "Glass-Beads in Malaya" in *JMBRAS* lxiv, Kuala Lumpur, 1987
- Glover Ian C, "Recent Archaeological Evidence for Early Maritime Contacts between India and Southeast Asia" in Ray and Salles edited *Tradition and Archaeology: Early Maritime Contacts in the Indian Ocean*, Manohar Publishers, New Delhi, 1996
- Glover Ian C, "The Bronze Age to Iron Age: Transition in Southeast Asia- a Comparative Perspective" in *BUMA VIII*, Bengaluru, 2010
- Higham Charles, *Early Cultures of Mainland Southeast Asia*, River Books, Bangkok, 2002
- Hall Kenneth R, *Trade and Statecraft in Early Southeast Asia*, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 1985
- Indrawooth P, "Amulets for Merchants" in Glover et al. edited *Early Metallurgy, Trade and Urban Centres in Thailand and Southeast Asia*, River Books, Bangkok, 1992
- Indrawooth P, "The Early Buddhist Kingdom of Thailand" in Glover and Bellwood edited *Southeast Asia: from Prehistory to History*, Routledge, London, 2004
- Jahan S.H, " Bengal and the Indian Ocean Maritime Trade Network During the Early Historic Period", Sengupta and Chakraborty edited *Archaeology of Early Historic South Asia*, Pragati Publications, New Delhi, 2008
- Lal B.B, "Sishupalgarh: an Early Historical Fort in Eastern India" in *Ancient India 5*, Calcutta, 1948
- Lamb A. " Indian Influence in Ancient South East Asia" Basham edited A Cultural History of India, OUP, New Delhi, 1997.
- Lamb A. " Some Observations on Stone and Glass Beads in Early Southeast Asia" in *JMBRAS* xxxviii, Kuala Lampur, 1965
- Manguin Pieree, "Southeast Asian Shipping in the Indian Ocean during the First Millennium A.D.", in Ray and Salles edited *Tradition and Archaeology : Early Maritime Contacts in the Indian Ocean*, Manohar Publishers, New Delhi, 1996

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

- Manguin Pierre,"The Archaeology of Early Maritime Politics of Southeast Asia" in Bellwood and Glover edited *Southeast Asia from Prehistory to History*, Routledge, London, 2004
- Marshall J, *Taxila : An Illustrated Account of the Archaeological Excavations*, vol III, CU.P. Cambridge, 1951
- McPherson K, *The India Ocean: A History of People and the Sea*, OUP, New Delhi, 1993
- Mukherjee B.N, "The Coinage of Dvaravati in Southeast Asia and the Kharosti-Brahmi Script" in Mitra D edited *Explorations in the Art and Archaeology of South Asia*, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Kolkata, 1996
- O'Reilley D, *Early Civilisations of Southeast Asia*, Altamira Press, Plymouth, 2007
- Prasad P.C, *Foreign Trade and Commerce of India*, Abhinav Prakashan, New Delhi, 1977
- Rajpitak W and Seeley N, "The Bronze Bowls from Ban Don Ta Phet, Thailand: an Enigma of Prehistoric Metallurgy", *World Archaeology* II, London, 1979
- Ramesh K, "Inscriptions of India and Southeast Asia through the Ancient and Medieval Periods" in Padigar and Sivananda edited *Recent Studies in Indian Epigraphy, History, Archaeology and Art vol iii*, Agama kala Prakashan, New Delhi, 2012Raschke M, *New Studies in Roman Commerce with the West*, Aufsteig, Berlin, 1978
- Ray H.P, "Introduction" in Chandra and Ray edited *The Sea, Identity and History: From the Bay of Bengal to South China*, Manohar Publishers, New Delhi, 2013
- Ray H. P, *Winds of Change: Buddhism and the Maritime Links of Early South Asia*, OUP, New Delhi, 1994
- Thapar Romila, *History of India*, Penguin Books, New Delhi, 1966.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

- White Joyce C, "Dating Early Bronze at Ban-Chiang, Thailand" in Pautreau et.al. edited From *Homo-Erectus to the Living Tradition*, Choice of Papers of Eleventh International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists, Chieng Mai, 2006

Bibliography:

Books

- Bacus, Glover & Sharrock edited *Uncovering Southeast Asia's Past*, NUS, Singapore, 2006
- Basham A.L. , *A Cultural History of India*, OUP, New Delhi, 1997.
- Chandra Moti, *Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India*, Abhinav Prakashan, New Delhi, 1977
- Chandra and Ray edited *The Sea, Identity and History: From the Bay of Bengal to South China*, Manohar Publishers, New Delhi, 2013
- Glover edited *Southeast Asian Archaeology*, Hull University, Yorkshire, 1990
- Glover et al. edited *Early Metallurgy, Trade and Urban centres in Thailand and Southeast Asia*, River Books, Bangkok, 1992
- Glover and Bellwood edited *Southeast Asia: from Prehistory to History*, Routledge, London, 2004
- Hall Kenneth R, *Trade and Statecraft in Early Southeast Asia*, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 1985
- Higham Charles, *Early Cultures of Mainland Southeast Asia*, River Books, Bangkok, 2002
- Padigar and Sivananda edited *Recent Studies in Indian Epigraphy, History, Archaeology and Art vol iii*, Agama kala Prakashan, New Delhi, 2012
- Pautreau et.al. edited From *Homo-Erectus to the Living Tradition*, Choice of Papers of Eleventh International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists, Chieng Mai, 2006

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

- Prasad P.C, *Foreign Trade and Commerce of India*, Abhinav Prakashan, New Delhi, 1977
- Raschke M, *New Studies in Roman Commerce with the West*, Aufsteig, Berlin, 1978
- Ray H. P, *Winds of Change: Buddhism and the Maritime Links of Early South Asia*, OUP, New Delhi, 1994
- Ray and Salles edited *Tradition and Archaeology: Early Maritime Contacts in the Indian Ocean*, Manohar Publishers, New Delhi, 1996
- Manguin, Mani & Wade edited *Early Interactions Between South and Southeast Asia*, Manohar Publishers, New Delhi, 2011
- McPherson K, *The India Ocean: A History of People and the Sea*, OUP, New Delhi, 1993
- Mitra edited *Explorations in the Art and Archaeology of South Asia*, Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Kolkata, 1996
- O'Reilley D, *Early Civilisations of Southeast Asia*, Altamira Press, Plymouth, 2007
- Sengupta and Chakraborty edited *Archaeology of Early Historic South Asia*, Pragati Publications, New Delhi, 2008
- Thapar Romila, *History of India*, Penguin Books, New Delhi, 1966

Journals

- *Ancient India 5*, Calcutta 1948
- *Antiquity* 77/296 , Cambridge, U.K, 2003
- *Asian Perspective XI*, Honolulu 1978
- *Journal of the Siam Society 98*, Bangkok, 1989 and 2008
- *Journal of Malayan Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, Kuala Lumpur, 1965 and 1987
- *Pratnasamiksha*, Kolkata, 1992
- *World Archaeology*, London, 1979 and 1989

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

POETRY IN THE SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS OF THAILAND

Satyavrat Varma*

Abstract: Not unlike the neighbouring countries Thailand had come quite early under the influence of the Indian Culture and ethos as epitomised in the Buddhistic and Puranic literature. Sanskrit, the repository of Indian thought and culture may or may not have been the language of the state apparatus the corpus of Sanskrit inscriptions recovered from various parts of Thailand, however bespeak its wide acceptance by the masses for whom they were primarily intended. The Sanskrit inscriptions of Thailand are not merely royal edicts, they are enlivened by delightful poetry in no small measure. Winsone imageries backed by faultless expression, judicious application of the figures of speech and other related trappings, combine to turn the down-to-earth documents into worthy pieces of poetry. Some of the inscriptions are conceived as mini-*kāvyas* and are dotted with elegant descriptions of various hues, besides the gimmicks that the Sanskrit poetry admits in profusion. The authors of the epigraphs, like some of their patrons, were men of considerable equipment, which tends to add a new flavour and dimension to the documents. No wonder quite a few of the Thai inscriptions invite comparison with Indian *Praśastis* of old. The paper goes the whole hog to bring into bold relief the poetic virtues of the Thai Sanskrit inscriptions.

Key Words : Invocation, Imagery, trappings, figures of speech, *Śāstra,* Vedic Symposium, Gaṅgā, Crescent, Gimmick, Recondite.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO. 124, Vol. 69, 2020, pp. 175-194.

* 7/34, Purani Abadi, Near Namdev Flour Mills, Sri Ganganagar - 335001.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

(i)

Collectively known as *Suvarṇabhūmi* mainly for the rich dividends it brought to the Indian merchants who ventured to its shores in ancient times, the countries of Southeast Asia had come quite early under the influence of the Indian culture to the extent that they came to be viewed as cultural outposts of India. Thailand, the ancient Siam, was also quick to imbibe the cultural bounty. Though overshadowed for long by its powerful neighbour, the *Kambujadeśa* (Cambodia), Thailand is believed on valid grounds to have adopted the Indian ethos epitomized by the Buddhistic and Puranic faiths as early as the Second Century A.D. Sanskrit, the repository of the ancient Indian Culture may or may not have been the language of its state appratus, the Corpus of Sanskrit inscriptions recovered from the length and breadth of the Thai Country, however, prove beyond doubt that the use of Sanskrit was not confined to the narrow elitist circles but extended to the public at large as well to which the epigraphs were intended to communicate the royal edict. The Thai Sanskrit inscriptions have doubtless been studied earlier, individually or in small bunches[1], but it was Dr. Satya Vrat Shastri who brought out a full-fledged compendium with an English translation and a brief linguistic and literary appraisal thereof, under the title *Sanskrit Inscriptions of Thailand (SIT)*[2] which opens up new vistas for evaluation of the Thai epigraphy.

The *SIT* is comprised of seventy five inscriptions including the six published earlier by Chirpat Prapandvidya. With five epigraphs edited by Sombat

1. (a) Prapod Assavavirulhakaran Peter Shilling : New Readings of Early Indian language Inscriptions from Nakhon Si Tammarat, Southern Thailand, Bulletin dé Etudes Indiennes, Association Francaise Pourles Etudes Indiennes No. 24-25, 2006-2007
   (b) Chirpat Prapandvidyā : The Inscriptions Recently found in Thailand.
   (c) George Coedes : Inscription du Cambodge.
2. Satya Vrat Shastri, C-248, Defence Colony, New Delhi - 110049. All references in the paper are to the inscriptions included in this volume i.e. *Sanskrit Inscriptions of Thailand.*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Mangmeesubhisiri and the four by Prapod Assavavirulhakam and Peter Skilling incorporated in the tome, the number swells to eighty four. The epigraphs included in the *SIT* betray drastic variation in size. While with one word or phrase, inscriptions like Pumaya Khiri (*Pumyagiri*) and Bung Khok Chang *(Varaprajñāvaraḥ)* are no better than the mole. The burly Phanom Rung Inscription with sixty one verses symbolises the hill. Similar variation is witnessed in their Contents. An array of them deal with such banal subjects as the installation of the images of the Puranic and Buddhistic deities offerings of food items made to the hermitages and temples to feed their inmates, the construction of religious shrines laying of tanks and gardens. While others record the genealogies of the respective rulers, their victories, philanthropic activities, religious pursuits, patronage to art and letters and literary equipment. However a good number of them are so badly mutilated that they are hardly amenable to a coherent reading and interpretation. Even of those that have escaped the climatic vagaries and the destructive zeal of the illiterate folk, quite a few are tarnished by a series of gaping lacunae. The rest of the epigraphs are happily better preserved and come out as pieces of delightful poetry evoking esteem from the connoisseur and critic alike. Sri Canasa Inscription, Wat Sema Muang Inscription, Prasat Inscription, among others, merit esteem in this regard. It is this beauties of poetry in Thai Inscriptions embodied in the *SIT*, that the paper means to bring into relief as far as it is possible to do within the limits of a succinct writing.

Not unlike their Indian counterparts, the majority of the Thai Sanskrit inscription begin with an invocation to different deities, which besides tendering homage to one's favourite deity, is deemed to ensure happy completion of the writing, free from snags and pitfalls. Such of the inscriptions as are comprised of certain units, introduce each or some of them with a *stuti* that addedly seems to underscore their distinct character in the epigraph. Though essentially a spontaneous outpouring of the devout heart, some of the invocations are marked by winsome poetry, distinguished by fascinating imagery, delightful expression and sane application of the figures of speech which combine to turn them into gems of Sanskrit poetry. To be sure many a deity of the pantheon is the recipient of homage of the Thai poets, however, it is the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Great God, Śiva, who has evoked adoration more than anyone else. His unique though, somewhat quaint, persona marked by contradictory features, has spurred a galaxy of poets to come out with lively fancies in an attempt to capture his genius with cogence. The invocations to Units Two and Three of the Prasat Phanom Rung Inscription No. 9 and Sri Canasa Inscription merit notice for their fascinating imageries.

Of the Hindu pantheon Śiva is the only god that has three eyes, instead of the normal two, which brings him the accordant Sobriquet of *trilocana*. While his normal two eyes represent respectively the sun and the moon, the third is an embodiment of fire. As the sun and fire join hands to produce excessive heat, the poor moon with its mild rays is left to find for itself. The unwholesome alliance of the sun and fire, with consequent alienation of the moon, poses a serious problem to the Lord. Left to themselves, the fire and sun would scorch the moon. It was to avoid such a catastrophe that the Lord, the poet, fancies sports the Ganges on his head, which with the mass of its celestial waters adds up, in unison with the moon, to a formidable entity to confront the alliance of the sun and fire. With balance struck between the two forces, the danger of confrontation is effectively aborted, and they live happily with the Lord, without ill will or animus.

नमश्शिवायास्तु शिवाय वो य-
श्शंके शशांकानलसूर्यनेत्र
उष्णत्वशीतत्वसमत्वमीप्सु
स्स्वास्थ्ये विभर्त्त्यद्भू(भु)तजह्नुजाताम् ॥[3]

Another happy aspect of Lord Śiva is brilliantly captured in the invocation to Unit Two of the same Prasat Phanam Rung - inscription. The Great God, oddly enough, is enamoured of things that are half of themselves. The moon that he carries on the head is 'half' (= a crescent). He in the *ardhanārīśvara* form has contracted his body to half of its measure, the other half is occupied by Gaurī and Viṣṇu who too have shrunk themselves to half of their normal selves. Why this fascination for the 'half'? The poet has come up with an interesting fancy to account for the queer phenomenon. It is his Considered

3. Prasat Phanom Rung Inscription No. 9, Face 1 Lines 22-23.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Contention that it does not represent the Lord's liking for things half, but the keenness of the incumbents to surrender half of themselves for a noble cause. The moon, Gaurī and Viṣṇu gleefully surrendered half of their forms to achieve the blessed vicinity of the Great God. Great sacrifice indeed occasioned by a great cause !

नमध्वमर्धेन्दुधरन्तमर्द्धांग -
शार(र्)ङ् गोमार्द्धकलेवरं यम् ।
शौरिश्व(श्च) गौरी च शिशुश्शशी च
नु सेवितुं त्यक्तकलेवरोर्द्धं ॥[4]

The Sri Canasa Inscription also opens with an invocation to Lord Śiva in two verses. Both of them pulsate with beautiful imageries. In Verse One the Gaṅgā is called upon to serve, much like in the Verse *namaśśivāyāstu śivāya vo*, a noble purpose, though paradoxically the impasse had been brought about by a dreadful feat of the Lord himself. The moment Śaṅkara reduced Kāma to ashes with the fire of his third eye, he was gripped by the fear that what the third eye had done to Kāma, that it could do to the whole world. It was to obviate this apprehension, the poet imagines, that the Lord placed on his head, besides the moon, the Gaṅgā as well, which combined together, would form great Coolants serving two fold buffer between the all - consuming eye and the World.

नेत्रार्च्चिर्दग्धकामेन शङ्करेण जितं ध्रुवम् ।
लोकदाहमय(या)द् भूयो यो(ऽ)द्धेन्दुस्वर्द्द(र्ज)लाधरः ॥[5]

Kārttikeya's doubt ingeniously worked up in the second eulogy of Śiva in the inscription serves to impart the verse a new measure. Pārvatī sharing the half of her body with Śiva's half in his *ardhanārīśvara* form, and thereby assuming the quaint look of half male and half female, plunged even her son in confusion as to who that incredible figure was ! Looking at the composite body that had cropped up at once before him, he could hardly determine whether it was his mother or someone else. To be the mother she should

4. *Ibid*, Face II, Lines 16-17.

5. Sri Canasa Inscription, Side 1, Verse One, P. 68.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

have been all female. Her peculiar look threw Kārttikeya in a bewildering quandary.

नमद्धवं(नमध्वं) हर देहादर्ध - हारिणीं हिमवत्सुताम् ।
अम्वा(म्बा) न वेति साशङ्कं पश्यति स्म गुहोऽपि याम् ॥[6]

The eulogy of the Buddha, called differently as Sugata, Jina, Vajrin and Munīndra, in some of the epigraphs accords well with the Buddhistic persuasions of the Thai authors. The invocation with which the Prasat Inscription opens has the unique distinction of conceiving the Buddha as a physician par excellence, ever eager to cure the faithful of all ailments, and to ensure there by the weal of the society. It is interesting, the *stuti* bears the imprint of the upanishadic style in highlighting the greatness of the Buddha in contradictory terms.

नमो वु(बु)द्धाय निर्म्माणधर्म्मसाम्भोगमूर्त्तये
भावाभावद्वयातीतो द्वयात्मको निरात्मकः ।
भैषज्यगुरुवैदूर्य प्रभराजिनन्नमे
क्षेमारोग्याणि जन्यन्ते येन नामापि शृण्वताम् ।[7]

Multiple invocation in the Muang Sema Inscription, which is addressed to as many as five gods in six verses, stands on a different footing, though it is *Utpreksā* again that serves to lend it happy overtones. Brahmā is thus fancied to have invented the lotus - posture *Padmāsana*, to teach the world the sure method of meditation. The goddess of speech, on the other hand, is imagined to have taken up abode in the mouth in order to communicate to the world that Lord Śaṅkara resided in her heart, implying thereby that the people have been blessed by her with speech to sing the glory of the Great God who was so dear to her also.

Besides being invested with poetic beauties of considerable order the invocations bear witness to the spirit of harmony that prevailed in the Thai society, with no dissonance from any quarter.

---

6. *Ibid*, Verse Two, P. 68.
7. Prasat Inscription, Side 1, Verses 1-2, P. 241.

CC-0. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection. Digitized by eGangotri

(ii)

Though down-to-earth documents like their counterparts elsewhere, some of the Thai inscriptions seem to have been conceived as miniature poems, mini *kāvyas,* with such trappings as combine to turn them into worthy writings, which may make bold to compare with the Indian *Praśastis* of note. They unwittingly follow the ancient theoreticians in this regard[8]. It is perhaps in obedience to them that they are dotted with happy descriptions of the phenomena prescribed to lend variety and vibrance to the composition. As elsewhere, here too the *Utprekṣā* joins hands with *padalālitya* and the figures of speech to heighten their appeal to a considerable measure. The Prasat Phanom Rung Inscription No. 9, Muang Sema Inscription, Wat Sema Muang Inscription, Phanom Rung Inscription tower above the whole corpus of epigraphs as notable compositions of high order.

Besides the time-worn phenomena, the descriptions of unconventional subjects/ objects in the Thai inscriptions, are equally, if not more, absorbing. The way the waterbody (perhaps laid out at Candrapura by the lord of Bhīmapura), has been detailed in the body of mere three verses in the Inscription of King Bhavavarman II, in diaphanous terms, with no pretension to literary embellishment, serves to capture its salient features in one go. True to his commitment to the public weal, the philanthropist ensured that caters to the people's needs across the years, even against heavy odds. That accounts for the extensive size of the reservoir, almost fathomless and aesthetic in appeal. The water supply to the tank was so regulated that it never fell short of the public demand. Being always brimful with wholesome water, the unkind operation of the sun did it no harm, *sūryadoṣarahitam.* Its tasteful water attracted to it all kinds of beings (*bhūtas*) and was a favourite home to the shoals of fish and flocks of birds. Rather, with it there, none went thirsty even at the height of the oppressive summer. It was indeed a worthy monument to human benevolence.[9]

---

8. *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Ed. Jivanand, Calcutta, 1934, P. 533.
9. Inscription of King Bhavavarmman II, Lines 8-10, P. 300

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

The graphic account of the Hospital, *ārogyaśālā*, as given in the Prasat Inscription, speaks volumes of Jayavarman's solicitude for the public health, which, after all, forms the basis of a nation's prosperity and happiness. It, in essence, purports to be a word-sketch of the functioning of the hospital and the personnel that manned it with devotion. It was significant that the hospital was free from all sectarian and parochial inhibitions, and provided treatment to all strata of the society with no distinction of caste and creed. Great emphasis was laid on the regular availability of the medicines. For that the hospital had its own pharmacy which worked overtime to meet the requirements of the patients. A spectrum of the ingredients of the respective medicines, the process of their preparation and the number of pharmacists and other functionaries operating there, is neatly detailed. The hospital engaged competent physicians to ensure expert treatment to the patients. It is a measure of the King's vision and sensitivity that a female doctor was earmarked to treat the women patients alone, while a well-oiled security force guarded the hospital against internal and external intervention, an administrative staff was in place to run the management of the *ārogyaśāla* smoothly.[10]

The winsome motif of *saundaryacitraṇa*, depiction of physical beauties, of the *dramatis persone*, assiduously fostered by the ancient masters, has filtered down to the Thai inscriptions as well. Despite the restricted avenues for digressions of any kind, some of the Thai epigraphs are enlivened by the verbal replicas of prominent personages, which bespeaks their predilection for the time - honoured tradition, and an anxiety to portray the ruling patrons as paragons of physical charm. The *saundaryacitraṇa* in the epigraphs has been attempted in the ornate style flavoured by classical writers like Māgha and Śrīharṣa, mustering literary gimmicks to impart them a somewhat pedantic aura.

It is in this vein that Narendrāditya's physical charms have been drawn in the Prasat Phanom Rung Inscription No. 9, which is well in consonance with the author's professed equipment (*kāvyavid*). To be sure, Narendrāditya was endowed with beauty of body and mind, almost in equal measure. He

10. Prasat Inscription, Sides 2-3, P. 244-250

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

resided in the minds of the comely women, but had set up an abode in the hearts of the sensitive poets with equal ease. The apparently irreconcilable phenomenon was brought about, in the poet's conception, by the two shrewd envoys operating in his person - the *saundaryaruci* and the *kāvyaruci.* While the former drew him to the beautiful women, the *kāvyaruci* facilitated his kinship with the great poets. The simple fact that king Narendrāditya was enamoured of beauty as much as he relished the poetry of the master poets has assumed fascinating poetic overtones by the poet's fancying his (King's) two *rucis*, as two skilfull messengers. The flight of the poet's imagination soars still higher since the delightful form of Narendrāditya *(nayanābhinandaḥ)* had shifted elsewhere - to the minds of the women and hearts of the poets - he stood in the danger of slipping into oblivion. Not so, the poet assure us. His existence could well be inferred by his nectar like speech and sharp wisdom. He was doubtless blessed with sweet tongue and keen wisdom, which, the poet imagines, facilitated his ready recognition despite his having shifted to the newer abodes.[11]

Narendrāditya excelled Kāma, both in beauty and number. How he did it, has been beautifully brought out by the Thai poet. He is convinced that though Śiva had burnt Kāma to ashes, he himself came to be looked upon as an embodiment of thousands of Kāmas. And he incarnated himself in the person of Narendrāditya, whom the women of beauty looked upon as Kāma. Thus despite having been burnt down in times of yore, Cupid, through the agency of the King lived in the hearts of women, the world over. While Śiva

---

11 (a) यः कामिनी निकर निश्चलमानसस्थो
(ऽ)पि स्थातुमर्हति हृदि स्म महाकवीनामम्(नाम्)
अती(दूती) वरा समवला कविता रुचिश्च
शक्ता(शक्ते) विनेतुमुभयतस्तदङ्गम् ॥

(b) वान्यो(ण्या)[ऽ]नवद्यसुधयाधिकया वा
विज्ञेय एष सुतरान्नयनाभिनन्दः
अस्माकमाशु रुचिदर्शनमन्तरेणे-
त्येव ध्रुवं क्षणनिमेज(ष)गतास्स्त्रियस्ताः ॥

Prasat Phanom Rung Inscription, No. 9, Face 1, Lines (a) 5-6 (b) 7-8.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

destroyed one Kāma, he created millions of them, resting in the hearts of the women. Kāma, in fact, was created by Brahmā to gain expertise in creating a more beautiful person, who, to the poet, was none else but the King. Narendrāditya surpassed even the moon. Not only did he have more virtues than the digits of the moon, he outstripped him also in the fact that he did not owe his beauty to anyone else - it was innate to him, while the moon was indebted to the sun for 'his' sheen.[12]

Narendrāditya's beauty of form had worked out an happy alliance with learning. While a wife of moon - like beauty may desert her husband for one reason or the other unless prompt safety measures are taken in time, the moon - like beauty of the king's face is faithful to him because it has found an ally of extraordinary warmth and vision in his learning. Addedly, the moon perpetually showers soothing sheen on his face, and the lotuses their lustre on his feet. With so many gifted friends at hand, no sane person would ever think to part company with them.[13]

Suffused with imageries, both simple and strained, the description of his valour is also equally impressive. He was a ruler the like of whom are seldom born in the world to salvage it from the vortex of repression. His mighty arms were the harbingers of victory. Covered in the upper half with the armour, and only the lower half coming into view, they are fancied to be two deadly snakes, issued out half from the holes of the mountain. It was unique of him that he could conquer the enemies with his arm of righteousness,

---

12. *Ibid.* Face 1, Lines 9-16.

    Ibid, Face 1, Lines (a) 17-18 (b) 19.

13. (a) कश्चिद्विना निजवधूस्समुहा(पा)र्जितापि
    यै रक्षकावि(कैर्वि?) रहितापि हि शशाङ्ककान्तिः ।
    नष्टा तथा विधतया नु पुनर्यद्
    विद्यायुताननरुचिश्चिरसङ्गता तु(नु) ॥

    (b) रुधिररुचिलवञ्चन्द्रस्तदास्ये
    तदीये सकलकमलमप्यंघ्रिद्वये भां बिभर्ति ॥

    Ibid. Face 1, Lines(a) 17-18 (b) 19

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

but when faced with the mighty enemy on the battlefield, she pressed into service (fought with) both of his arms to mow them down. His expertise in archery was evident from the ferocity with which he showered arrows on the enemies. It was notable of the arrows shot by him that they, the poet reveals, hit the enemy with feral effect and returned to the quiver with a rapidity that they could hardly keep count of the number of foes struck down by them.

When he was locked in the battle, some amazing scenes occurred on the battlefield. The heads of the enemies, as they were severed by his arrows, flew in the air and immediately fell on the ground with a thud. The poet would have us believe that they did not fall on their own. They were in fact hurled down with disdain by the heavenly nymphs as they had no fondness for the warriors that still entertained the memories of their conjugal life. Total devotion to them alone is what they expected of the dead. He wrought such a havoc on the battlefield that it was littered with numberless corpses of the rival warriors. The rival chief could hardly keep count of the fallen combatants. He drafted the services of a young spunky man for the purpose. But to the chief's chagrin, he too was repulsed in no time by the king. He has to beat a retreat, running over and counting the dead soldiers lying on the ground.[14]

Interestingly, the warrior king had strong spiritual leanings. The account of *Yogasādhanā* that he undertook, perhaps in the evening of his life, is simply superb. In order to ensure the fruition of his *sādhanā*, he carried out austerities, as prescribed in the texts on Yoga, on the quiet and wholesome ambience of a hill, which, in intensity, invited comparison with Śiva's penance on mount Kailāsa. Tender sprouts of trees was all that he took to sustain himself. He would rise early in the morning and launch upon a series of yogic practices with single-minded devotion. The vigorous austerities that continued uninterrupted for seven long months, ultimately resulted in his spiritual enlightenment, leading to the breaking of the *Brahmadvāra*. It is a measure of the severity of his austerities that he had to tone them down, fearing that the whole universe might explode under their impact. Even with

14. Phanom Rung Inscription, Verses, 22-23, 27-29.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

long and sustained penance and sparse eating, he was his normal self. As a result of his long *sādhanā* a divine light surged in his heart. And as by divine grace he ceased even such physical activities as urinating and excreting, he came to be looked up as a peer of Aṣṭamūrti. While Aṣṭamūrti (Śiva) was the lord of beings *(gaṇas)* in the heaven, Narendrāditya was a lord of beings, mortals, on the earth and was worshipped by them more than Dhūrjaṭi. The *yogasādhanā* over the time elevated him to great heights of spiritual discipline. No wonder, he attained oneness, *aikya*, with Brahmā and Viṣṇu, *padmāsanābjanayanaikyagataḥ*. Great glory of yoga indeed.

(i) प्रातस्समुत्थाय विधाय योगं
यो ब्रह्मणो द्वारमिदं विभेद ।
ब्रह्माण्डभेदन् नु भियात्मयोगै-
श्शनैश्शनैर्य्योगमिमञ्चकार ॥

(ii) यस्सप्तमासे फलपत्रभोज्यं
भुञ्जन् बभौ भोजनपानभाजाम् ।

(iii) भर्तेश्वरो(ऽ)भूद् दिवि भूतसङ्घे
भूम्युद्भवो यो यमभूतभर्त्ता ।
तेन ध्रुवं धूर्जटितो नु पूर्व्वात्
ततो(ऽ)धिकं यं भजते स्म भूतः ॥

(iv) यस्यौर्व्ववद् वह्निविभोद्भवभूता ।

(v) यो(ऽ)प्यष्टमूर्तिर्विदितो(ऽ)ष्टमूर्त्तेस्
तुल्यो नु येनाष्टदिने निवृत्तौ ।
वृत्तेरनुच्चारितमूत्रमात्रा-
दौ दिव्यलीलामवाप सकला(लाम्) ॥[15]

By far the most lucid portrayal in the inscriptions is reserved for King Jayavarman who was also a man of many parts. Though not void of the trappings, it is not happily burdened by them.

Jayavarman was a worthy heir to Manu (*rājadharme manuḥ*), the mythical

15. *Ibid*, Verses, 43-45, 47-48.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

progenitor of the human race. He carried out his kingly duties with utmost devotion and brought about thereby all round weal and prosperity of the people, epitomised in the realisation of the *trivarga*, the three ends of life. With his solicitude for and commitment to his subjects, he was looked upon as their true father. Their biological parents, the poet would have us believe, were no more than mere procreators. His munificence put to shame even the legendary *Cintāmaṇi*, whose yield invariably fell short of the magnitude of his charities. He was an embodiment of compassion, a *puṣkarāvartta* of *Karuṇā*, always dousing, in the poetic language. The leaping flames of misery that burnt the poor and the destitute. Though a kind hearted man, Jayavarman was a formidable fighter. He conquered so many enemies in a row that Jayaśrī, the goddess of victory, the poet fancies, was tired to the bone for being perpetually on the battlefield that 'She' had to seek respite with Lord Viṣṇu in company with Lakṣmī. His myriad virtues made Jayavarman an ideal king, lending true meaning to the word *rājan*, one who gladdens the people and brought him wide fame. Śrī, the goddess of fortune, had incarnated in his person. Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī had indeed worked out a truce among themselves and resided happily in him, with no trace of their known malice. His efficient and benevolent rule combined with manifold attainments ushered in an era of peace and prosperity in the kingdom frustrating any attempts on Kali's part to step in.

(i) श्रुतिस्मृतिप्रमाणेन कृतं क्र(कृ)तवति स्थिरं
युगं यत्र कलिर्दूर नावकाशमलप्सत ।

(ii) सदाजौ जातखेदेव जयश्रीर्य्यमधिश्रियम्
शिश्राय शान्तये शारंगी(ङ्गी)शौर्य्यं वीरभुजार्ज्जिका ।

(iii) शशास शास्त्रदर्शं यस्त्रिवर्ग्गाव(वा) पत्ये(प्तये) प्रजाः
संस्कारहेतवस्त्वासां केवलं गुरवो मताः ।

(iv) यत्कीर्त्तिर्विष्णुवद् व्याप्ता त्रिलोकी विश्रभङ्गता ।

(v) यं प्राप्य (रा)जशब्दो(ब्दो)[ऽ]भूच्चरितार्थो गुणादिभिः ।

(vi) वन्शाविद्याविशुद्धं यं व्र(ब्र)ह्मक्षत्रं कुशेशया ।
सरस्वती च शिश्राय स्थिरमेकसमाश्रयम् ।

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

(vii) सर्वसम्पत्तिसारं यद्वन्यत्वमकृत्रिमम् ।
लब्ध(ब्ध)चिन्तामणेरर्थमर्धनं यदलम्भयत् ॥[16]

(iii)

Though sought to be devalued as 'Fleeting properties', *asthira dharma*, of poetry,[17] the figures of speech, *alaṁkāras,* are inherent to Sanskrit poetry, but for which it would sink into insipid prose. That is perhaps why the Thai poets have used the figures of speech, of both word and meaning, with a measure of gusto to impart clarity and strength to the expression. Of the array of the figures of speech, *Utprekṣā,* Fancy, holds the pride of place in the epigraphs. With its innate potential to lead the poet's imagination to soar high, *Utprekṣā* has been used in the inscriptions with unusual frequency. It rather emerges as the most favoured *alaṁkāra* of the Thai authors. Besides those noted earlier, some of the more engrossing ones call attention.

Vidyā (Learning), Lakṣmī (Fortune) and Kīrti (Fame) lived with Sūryavarman, much like co-wives. The three were naturally ill at ease with each other. One of them, Kīrti, chose to desert the triad and fled away, encompassing all the quarters in 'her' mighty sweep - the fame of the king spread far and wide. The remaining two, Vidyā (Sarasvatī) and Lakṣmī, too should have parted company due to their inherent animus. The poet works up a brilliant fancy to account for their continued co-existence. He is convinced that they continued to live cheek by jowl with the king because as one of them Vidyā, resided in his beautiful mouth/face, Lakṣmī opted to co-exist with her out of regards for the king's majesty, her grudge against her notwithstanding (*śuceva*).

The imagery used in underscoring the uniqueness of Sūryavarman's charity is equally happy. He showered rich gifts on the suppliants, day in and day out, without any constraint of time, and they naturally remained with them forever. The poet, however, fancies that it was so because he excelled Indra who sheds rain at specific times, as well as Arjuna whose arrows rained on the enemies return to his quiver, after hitting them hard. Sūryavarman's

16. Muang Sema Inscription, Verses, 8-9, 12-14, 16, 18.

17. *Śabdārthayor asthirā ye dharmāḥ śobhātisāyinaḥ, Sāhityadarpaṇa,* X. I, P. 660.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

charities neither backtracked to him nor were they bound by constraint of time.

Some of the imageries are, however, strained and do not sit well with the genius of the epigraph.

विद्यावदाता वडि(द)नेन्दुबिम्बे रसामृतैर्यस्य सतां कृतेष्टिः ।
कि(की)र्त्य(र्त्या) सपत्न्यामपि विद्रुतायां शुचेव लक्ष्म्याविहिताद्या(दरा)भूत् ॥
काले हरिर्वर्षति वायूर्यस(सं)ख्यं तथागतं (गतागतं) वान(बाण) गणं च जिष्णुः ।
इतीव शश्वद्भ(द्भ)हुवृष्टचतीतं अनागतं वर्षति योग्यदानम् ॥[18]

The ubiquitous *Upamā,* Simile, has also been used with a telling effect. Apt *Upamānas,* standards of comparison, culled from a variety of sources, serve to lend added clarity to what is sought to be highlighted in the *Upameya,* subject of comparison. The Wat Sema Muang Inscription is notable for the use of some admirable similes. In Verse Four the virtuous men invite comparison with mango trees, and King Vijayeśvara with the spring. Even men of merit assumed added glory in the king's vicinity as the Āmra and Kesara trees are laden with new foliage at the advent of the vernal season. The comparison of the needy with the elephants, in Verse Three, though apparently odd, serves to highlight their miserable plight with precision. The hapless folk scorched by the fire of poverty repaired to the King and got quick relief / succour, as the elephants oppressed by the summer sun rush to a tank of cool water and are instantly relieved of the agony.[19]

Despite a modicum of dissonance in the gender of the *Upameya* and *Upamāna* (*mahāntaḥ - strī*), the simile in Verse Forty of the Phanom Rung Inscription brings out precisely the high work of Narendrāditya's poetic compositions and the devotion of the *sahṛdayas,* the enlightened readers. As a woman,

18. Suan Phak Kat Palace Inscription, Verses 5-6 P. 16.

19. धनविकलतावह्निज्वालाक्षपिताशया
यमभि पतिता ये ते स्वास्थ्यं परं समुपागताः ।
ह्रदमिव गजा नित्याशोष्यं प्रसन्नशुभाम्भसां
सवितरि तपत्युग्रे सेव्यं सरोजरजो(ऽ)रुणम् ॥
Wat Sema Muang Inscription Verse 3, P.182

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

after marriage, gives up the proximity of her kinsmen of all hues, so did the appreciative readers/poets lost track of their own writings of substantial worth, on relishing the King's poetic compositions marked by a plethora of virtues.

The inscriptions are interspersed with pretty Winsome Alliteration, *Anuprāsa*. The jingling rhythm and delightful expression that are found to add lustre to some of the writings, owe themselves to the imaginative application of *Anuprāsa*. Based on *Śabdasāmya*, it unfolds itself in several varities, almost all of which are brilliantly illustrated in the inscriptions. The accompanying verses would suffice to give a taste of its excellence.

(i) भूभुजो भूरयोऽभूवन् भूतभूतिविभूषणाः ।
श्रीभुजो भगदत्ताद्या चानाशपुरभूभुजः ॥[20]

(ii) गुणमृतमुपगम्य यं गुणाढ्या
मनुजन(व)रा मनुना समं समन्तात् ।
मधुसमयमिमा(वा)म्रकेसराद्याः
श्रियमधिकां दधते महीरुहेन्द्राः ॥[21]

Notwithstanding its varities that are frowned upon by the Connoisseur, *Yamaka*, Paranomasia, reflects the poet's skill in crafting queer phraseology, which, its toughness apart, evokes esteem. In *sadā mudā varddhitadānavāris sadānavarddhipriyasampadādḥyaḥ* (Prasat Inscription, Line 11), the word *dānava* repeated in the same sequence, is void of meaning in the second phrase, but yields the intended sense when split up appropriately. Verse Forty of the epigraph has its effect heightened manifold by the ringing phraseology emanating from the application of the charming *Yamaka*.

मधुरमधुरसं यस्याधिकं पद्य-
बन्धं सहितसहित शब्दार्थं महन्तः पिबन्तः ।
सकलसकलमात्मीयं त्यजन्त्येव यात्वा
परमपरमपि स्त्रीव त्यजत्यात्मबन्धुम् ॥[22]

20. Sri Canasa Inscription, Lines 5-6, P. 68.
21. Wat Sema Muang Inscription, Verse 4, P. 183.
22. Phanom Rung Inscription, Verse 40, P. 317

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Rūpaka, wherein something is metaphorically spoken of something else that adds emphatic dimensions to it and facilitates a better understanding thereof, has been used with quite some frequency and tenacity. In Verse Four of the Suan Phak Kat Inscription the three eyes of Lord Śiva are said to be a refuge, *sadma*, where other deities, the sun, moon and fire take refuge to escape his fury: *trinetranetratrayasadmabhājo bhītyeva bhāsvadvidhuhavyavāhāḥ.* Verse Three speaks of King Sūryavarman as the sun for the beauty of the worlds which are said to be lotuses : *Śrī sūryavarmā bhuvanāmbujaśrisūryaḥ.* The two excerpts incidentally exemplify Alliteration and Paranomasia as well. In the hemistich from the Prasat Inscription *ratna* (gem), *hāra* (necklace) and *Aṅganā* (woman) are respectively imputed on *sadguṇa*, *kīrti* and *vasudhā* which lend uncommon charm to what would have been a bald expression: *paryyagrahīta sadguṇaratnabhūṣā yatkīrtihārāṁ vasudhāṅganāṁ saḥ* (Line 10).

Resting on the contradictory terms employed therein, *Virodhābhāsa* has been mustered in the epigraphs to fathom what appears to be inscrutable and defies easy comprehension. This is how the profound genius of Lord Śaṅkara, and the Buddha is sought to be highlighted.

(i) एकस्वभावोऽखिलभावयुक्तोऽनेकभावोऽप्यतिशून्यभावः ।[23]

(ii) भावाभावद्वयातीतो द्वयात्मा यो निरात्मकः ।[24]

(iii) यः कृष्णकल्पोऽप्यवदातवर्णः ।[25]

Besides these major *alaṁkāras, Śleṣa, Vyatireka, Dṛṣṭānta, Nidarśanā, Arthāntaranyāsa, Viśeṣokti, Svabhāvokti* etc. also contribute their mite to enrich the expression, and heighten the appeal of the writings.

Viśeṣokti:

विद्यात्वकयमप्रमुखैर्व्विशेषैरुद्या(द्य)त्सममेरप्यकृतस्मयोक्तिः ।[26]

---

23. Prasat Hin Phimai Inscription, No. 2 Side 2, Line 2, P. 128.
24. Prasat Inscription, Side 1, Line 2, P. 241.
25. *Ibid*, Side 1, Line 12
26. Suan Phak Kat Palace Inscription, Verse 7, P. 16.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Svabhāvokti:

विपुलं दीर्घकं रम्यं
अगादं(धं)स्वच्छवारिभिः
सम्पूर्ण स्वादुभिस्सेव्यं
मत्स्यपक्षिगणाकुलम् ।[27]

Vyatireka:

काले हरिर्वर्षति लार्य्यस (स)ख्यं तथागतं (गतागतं) वान (वाण) गणं च जिष्णुः
इतीव शरबद्ध(द्ध)हुवृष्ट्यतीतं अनागतं वर्षति योग्यदानम् ॥[28]

But for occasional violations occasioned by the use of short syllable for the long or vice versa, and the wrong caesura, the authors of the inscriptions have handled the metre with care which bespeaks their insights in the science of prosody. A number of metres of different kinds have been used in the epigraphs. Apart from the half - equal metre like *Puṣpitāgrā* and the ubiquitous *mātrika Āryā*, many a metre from the tiny *Anuṣṭup* to the mighty *Sragadharā* has been pressed into service.

Anuṣṭup, Indravajrā, Upendravajrā, Upajāti, Vasantatilakā, Mālinī, Hāriṇī, Śikhariṇi, Śragdharā, Puṣpitāgrā, Dodhaka (with *prastāra*), *Mauktikadāma* (with *prastāra*) are some of the salient metres that have been used in the epigraphs. Of these *Upajāti* and *Vasantatilakā* have found more favour with the poets.

(iv)

Appendix

The Thai authors of the Sanskrit inscriptions may not have been sound scholars, they were not men of meagre learning either. They were for sure well grounded in the various disciplines of Sanskrit learning. The scores of references in the inscriptions to the *śāstras* in general, and some specific

27. Inscription of King Bhavavarmman II, Line 9, P. 300.
28. Suan Phak Kat Palace Inscription, Verse 6, P. 16.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

disciplines, even if they pertain to their patrons, are indicative of their close insights in the respective *śāstras*. The Science of Poetics was doubtless their forte. The way they have made judicious use of the figures of speech to unfold poetic beauties with effect, bears it out beyond a shred of doubt. Similar equipment they had in the sister discipline of Prosody. As is evident from the trappings they employed to enliven the writings, they, at least some of them, were poets of no mean order. Such stray phrase as *(a)rthaśabdasaṁga* (Vr. 35)[29], *(a)rtharamyaṁ padyam* (Vr. 39)[30] surviving the mutilated text of the respective verses in the Phanom Rung Inscription, seem to suggest what in their view constituted and distinguished poetry. Poetry to them was a sane combination, perhaps *anyunānatiriktatvam*, of word and meaning with its beauty resting on Winsome Connotation. They wore their equipment lightly, though the author of the Phanom Rung flounted it proudly by the pithy phrase *kāvyavid*.

Their hold on the Sanskrit grammar is no less worthy. It finds expression in a number of recondite grammatical forms used in the epigraphs, and oblique reference to some of Pānini's aphorisms. Forms like अलप्सत, विवर्षिषत्, अतिष्ठिषत्, ग्रासादिपर्वदिवसं, सुगतात्प्रति, शङ्करात्प्रति, लिङ्गीभवद्, समवाप, वाग्मी, जाज्वलीति, समतिष्ठिषत्, शिक्षयञ्छिल्पकर्माणि owe themselves to special rules of Pāṇini's grammar which the Thai poets had duly imbibed. The phenomenon of the feminine word turning into its masculine form in the *samāsavṛtti*, under given conditions, is specifically referred to in a verse (P. 101, Vr. 13). The significance of the *Mahābhāṣya* and *Kāśikā* in the pursuit of sound grammatical studies, is duly noted. The mention of *Āgama*, *Śruti* and *Smṛti* in the epigraphs is a pointer to the equipment of the poets in these disciplines.

Interestingly some of the rulers of the land were also well-versed in the various *śāstras*. Narendrāditya had imbibed the ancient religious scriptures and had considerable hold on other *śāstras* as well (*sarvāgamapaṭuḥ*). *Yoga* was his favourite *śāstra*. As a culmination of the yogic practices and close perusal of the scriptures, spiritual enlightenment dawned upon him, that led him to view all faiths with equal esteem (P. 372, Vr. 37). The Vedas were at his

29-30. Phanom Rung Inscription, P. 376, 377.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

tongue's tip (आस्ये स्फुटस्तत् श्रुतिशब्दशब्दः) (P. 373, Vr. 38). That apart, he excelled in Grammar and Poetry. His profound equipment in grammar earned him the proud sobriquet of *śabdavid*. The *Mahābhāṣya* held special fascination for him : -- *eṣa bhāṣya, śabdārthavit* (P. 379, Vr. 49). He delved deep into it to the extent that he turned out to be an authority of sorts on the Great Treatise. Not only that, he trained his son Hiraṇya also in the *Mahābhāṣya* so thoroughly that he acquired exceptional proficiency in it, particularity in its Books Three and Six, at the tender age of fifteen (P. 379, Vr. 57-58). Narendrāditya was also a talented poet. True to his concept of poetry, his poetic compositions were rich in sentiments and sweetness, and as such evoked wide esteem. In the poetic language of the author of the epigraph, while browsing through his gripping poetry distinguished by myriad virtues, even poets of note got so absorbed in it that they forgot their own writings much like a woman that forgets her kin after the marriage (P. 377, Vr. 39-40).

Though a versatile scholar with firm grip on many a *śāstra*, Jayavarman was a Vedist of high order. To him the Vedas were the final authority in kingly and socio-religious matters. He was fired with a zeal to disseminate the message of the Vedas far and wide. He held regular seminars at his house to deliberate on the Science of Vedic interpretation. With learned men versed in the Vedas flocking to participate in the *jñānaśātras*, and offering their considered views on the knotty issues, his house appeared to be located in the Āryāvarta, the land of the Vedas themselves.[31] He dabbled in creative writing as well. His plays imparted aesthetic pleasure to the connoisseur by their unconventional themes, worked up skilfully by him.[32]

---

31. Muang Sema Inscription, Side 1, Verse 9, P.101.
32. *Ibid*, Side 1, Verse 20, P. 102.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

SANSKRIT AND SYMBOLISM OF INDIA FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF IDENTITY DESIGN

Nimesh Shah*

Abstract: The purpose behind writing this article is to concentrate on Sanskrit Texts and how the symbolism of India plays an important role in Identity design. India is known for its diverse culture and the diversity is in terms of religion, language, clothing, folk and visual culture. From ancient times India is well-known for trade with other countries and thus, there are various regional, national and international brands, available in the market. The Identity presents the uniqueness of the organization through the visuals and text. India is famous for its cultural diversity and each culture has a unique visual identity in terms of the symbolism which represents the idea of the time. Sanskrit is the classical language of India and it is considered as the mother of all languages. In India, there are many organizations that have the tagline in Sanskrit. The tagline is used by the organization to seek the attention of stakeholders and to give them the idea of the vision and contribution of the organization quite strongly.

Key Words: Identity Design, Visual Culture, USP, Symbolism, Sanskrit

Introduction

Indic tradition conceives art (*kalā*) as a knowledge system which conduces to fulfilling the four ends of human life. In other words, in art there lies an efficacy to lead towards our final aims - *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, and *mokṣa*. But 'what is its ontological status' – this question requires serious deliberation.

Symbolism plays a significant role in art and cultural tradition of India. It is clearly reflected in India's traditional forms of dance, music, handicraft, folk arts

---

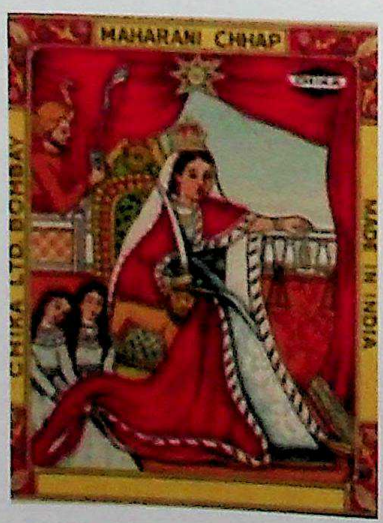
Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO. 124, Vol. 69, 2020, pp. 195-207.

* Dept. of Applied Arts, Faculty of Fine Arts, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara, M: 9824333265, Email: e9824333265@gmail.com

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

and religious rituals. "Clay craft as revealed in our ancient writings and as visible in molded bricks, cave paintings can be traced back to the Vedic times where symbols are all pervasive. Symbols on earthen ware found during excavation in Harappa and Mohenjo Daro show the traditions and life at large that evolved over a period of time. The symbolism and the art of making objects of daily life remained an integral part of our social-cultural life. A pot filled with water is considered a good omen and is, for that reason, indispensable in any ritual. For ceremonies and rituals, a *maṅgala kalaśa*, the sacred vessel, is a common religious symbol. The folk art of various parts of the country helps us identify the various communities they belong to. Rock paintings in the caves are the earliest specimens of folk art in India and are visible in various objects on the floors, walls, and objects of everyday use. Various symbols used in our daily lives today have originated from the Vedic and Tantric traditions."[1]

India is one of the oldest cultures having its own unique legacy of values, tradition, religion, language, and clothings. In British colonial times, the visual culture of India was used during the trade-in the form of various designs like labels, posters of the product as can be seen in the label given below that not only served as advertisements but also as symbols of cultural identity or in other words Indian identity overseas.



(Image 01)
Rare Indian textile labels show evolution of cotton trade.

1. Sarkar, N., *Art and Print Production*. 1st ed. Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2008, pp. 330-335.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

India provides a wider market for the regional, national and international brands. In India these brands are selling varieties of products or providing services to the consumers. The mall culture and e-business in India seems like a battleground for the competitors to sell their product. Every organization/product has a unique selling point (USP) of its product and service which stands out from other brands in the market. To present their Unique Selling Point (USP) they use different media of mass communication for promotion, which is explained in more details especially features of the product. For any brand, it's important to create a distinction between own brand and the competitor's brand through visuals in such a manner that the consumers are able to differentiate between two brands selling the same product. This paper presents a fresh approach to establish the relation between Sanskrit and the symbolism of India through Identity Design. Sanskrit with its pristine clarity is the language of historical India which tells us about the Vedic times and its civilization. Its values still exist in our life in various forms like rituals, blessings, and also adding a new dimesnion that is Identity design in the forms of brand names or slogans of the organizations. "The word symbol comes from the Greek *symbolon,* which means contract, token, insignia, and a means of identification. Parties to a contract, allies, guests, and their host could identify each other with the help of the parts of the *symbolon*."[2]

Identity Design and Symbolism

The history of India is marked with wars and conquests; the different era has left its mark on the Indian culture. British rule and the industrial revolution also brought major changes to India, but the basic idea of the lifestyle remained unchanged even in the digital age. The diversity of the culture brings the charm of the visual culture of India hence, various symbols and motifs that are used in our day to day life on various occasions, at various places like on the door of house or shop, temples, account books, religious texts, and in traditional ceremony carry the same innate idea but have been gradually modified to suit the changing times and the changing life styles and also living values all through identity design and

2. Goldammer, K., 2020. *Religious Symbolism and Iconography*. [online] Encyclopedia Britannica. Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/religious-symbolism> [Accessed 13 March 2020].

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

graphic presentation like Sun, Lotus, Elephant, Garuḍa and many more. The detailed analysis of some important symbols is discussed below:

Sun: Sūrya (also known as Āditya) is considered as the creator of the universe and the source of all life. Sūrya is the supreme soul who brings light and warmth to the world. Sūrya symbolizes the source of light, energy, wisdom, truth, knowledge, intelligence, continuity, immortality, stability, divinity, purity, witness, fire, integrity, performance, and perfection. Communication design uses different Media of communication to express the message with the help of elements. Identity design is the face of the brand. For the visual communication various signs, symbols, and motifs are used to advertise and promote the brand. The symbol of the Sun is used in various ways in the communication design, in abstract, decorative form, and as a metaphor. Image 2 & 3 are the examples how designers use the form of sun in two different way present brand.

(Image 02)

(Image 03)

Lotus: 'The lotus is considered a sacred flower in all Indic religions like Hinduism, Buddhism, Sikhism, and Jainism. The lotus symbolizes peace, beauty, prosperity, and silence in which divinity and humanity come together. As is seen from images, the lotus rises out of Viṣṇu's navel and holds Brahmā, the creator. This is why Viṣṇu is called Padmanābha. Goddess Lakṣmī, the goddess of beauty and wealth, stands in a lotus and is called Kamalā. Goddess Sarasvatī, the goddess of wisdom and knowledge holds a white lotus. The lotus rises from muddy water to blossom as a pure, uncontaminated flower, therefore it is a symbol of purity and resurrection.'[3] (Image 4) Lotus Herbals, an Indian cosmetic brand has identified itself with this flower- "Lotus Herbs" and its logo represents this quality of the brand. (Image. 5) There is a lotus in the center of The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda's visual identity; this is meant to serve a vital role in building a positive image as well as a trustworthy identity, among other

3. Patil, V., 2011. *Sacred Symbols in Indian Culture*. [online] Esamskriti.com. Available at: <https://www.esamskriti.com/e/Culture/Indian-Culture/Sacred-Symbols-In-Indian-Culture-1.aspx> [Accessed 9 April 2020].

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

universities, industries, funding agencies, and professionals. It signifies purity, serenity, and blossoming of knowledge.

(Image 04)

(Image 05)

Elephant: 'Elephant (also known as Airāvata) is a common visual motif used in Hindu mythology. The various forms of an elephant symbolize strength, power, wisdom, stability, loyalty, intelligence, peace, reliability, and determination. According to myth, elephants came into being at the very beginning of time, with Indra's mount Airāvata being the first elephant to emerge from the cosmic egg held by Brahmā. In addition to Airāvata, the two elephants associated with Lakṣmī and the elephant-headed god Gaṇeśa are both prominent representations of elephants in Hindu art.'[4] (Image 6). 'Pidilite Industries Limited, an Indian adhesive manufacturing company owns the Fevicol brand. Their logo is the Magdeburg hemisphere. It means that with Fevicol applied, even elephants cannot pull them apart. The logo directly associates with the quality of the product. (Image. 7) The Muthoot Finance Company, Kerala base company has their logo with an elephant. Kerala is known for its elephants. Moreover, elephants are also associated with Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth. Here elephant signifies immense and imperishable wealth that completely fits into the function of Muthoot Finance.'[5]

(Image 06)

(Image 07)

4. Mahavidya.ca. 2010. *Hindu Animal and Plant Iconography* | Mahavidya. [online] Available at: <http://www.mahavidya.ca/2010/02/11/hindu-animal-and-plant-iconography/> [Accessed 5 March 2020].

5. Creative Blog on Indian brands, Marketing and Advertising. n.d. *History Behind 37 Brand Logos Which Have Animal Character*. [online] Available at: <https://brandyuva.in/2018/04/history-behind-37-brand-logos-which-have-animal-character.html> [Accessed 17 August 2020].

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

About Identity Design

For any organization/product the "Brand Name" and its visual identity is important to stand out in market. There are few fundamental reasons behind the usage of identity design (a) To explain the organization name (b) To explain remarkable line of organization (c) To stand out in the field and show commitment. The designers follow basic principles of design such as (a) Balance (2) Rhythm (3) Harmony (4) Contrast (5) Unity. It was the Buddhist who probably realized the importance of 'Visual Communication' in spreading religion. In order to communicate the teachings of Buddha and his ideals to the population at large, Emperor Aśoka set up rock and pillar edicts all over the country. These rock and pillar edicts can be termed as the forerunners of posters of today's examples of the effective pictorial art to propagate the religion as found in Sanchi, Ajanta and Amraoti.[6]

Design Process

To create a strong brand identity for any organization/product requires strong brainstorming, strategy, and hardcore efforts. It includes a significant understanding of organization/product, clear thinking, and with strong communication and design skills. During the brainstorming, designers mainly focus on Strategy and the design process, Start with a creative brief. After the brainstorming designers convert the imaginary picture on the 2D surface and develop the visual form with all possibilities which help to achieve personality, goals, and values.

Emblem

'An emblem is pictorial images, abstraction or representational, that epitomizes a concept, deity, tribe, nation, virtue or vice.' Since ancient times the identity of India is represented through various unique forms such as different places of India, the Indian Flag, the National bird of India, and the National animal of India, and several other symbolical forms. The emblem of India carries many symbolic forms and the slogan which is written in Sanskrit; each having a particular meaning.

---

6. Rege, G., *Advertising Art & Ideas*. 1st ed. Kareer Polytechnic, Bombay,1972, p.238.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

State Emblem of India

(Image 08)

'In the state emblem, adopted by the Government of India on 26 January 1950'[7] 'The Ashoka Pillar and the Lion on top of it were built by Emperor Aśoka to mark the spot where Buddha first disseminated his *'Bodhi'* to disciples. The four lions of the capital joined back to back symbolize stress on equality and justice in all spheres of life. The four lions are also representative of the four core spiritual philosophies of Buddha since Buddha himself is symbolized as a lion. The three lions visible on the capital's representation in the National Emblem signify Strength, Courage, and Confidence. The cylindrical base below the lions further upholds certain symbolism. The circular wheel in the middle is a form of Buddhist *Dharma Cakra* and is known as the *Aśoka Cakra* after the emperor who popularized it. The 24 spokes of the *Cakra* represent the number of hours in a day and portray the passage of time. The spokes signify moving forward in life and thus one avoids stagnation of the mind. The four animals depicted alternatively between the *cakras* are regarded as the guardians of four directions - the lion for the north, the elephant for the east, the horse for the south, and the bull for the west. In some Buddhist texts, all these animals have been referred to as symbols for Buddha himself and that may have deduced him carrying forward the tenets of *Dharma.*'[8]

---

7. Knowindia.gov.in. n.d. *National Identity Elements - State Emblem - Know India: National Portal of India.* [online] Available at: <https://knowindia.gov.in/national-identity-elements/state-emblem.php> [Accessed 19 March 2020].

8. Culturalindia.net. n.d. *National Emblem of India: The Four Lions of Sarnath.* [online] Available at: <https://www.culturalindia.net/national-symbols/national-emblem.html> [Accessed 23 March 2020].

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

सत्यमेव जयते नानृतं सत्येन पन्था विततो देवयानः ।
येनाक्रमन्त्यृषयो ह्याप्तकामा यत्र तत् सत्यस्य परमं निधानम् ॥६॥

Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad (Verse 3.1.6)

Truth alone wins, not falsehood; by truth, the *Devayāna* (the path of the *Devas*) is widened, that by which the seers travel on, having nothing to wish for to where there is that—the highest treasure attained by truth.[9]

The words *Satyameva Jayate* from *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*, meaning 'Truth Alone Triumphs', are inscribed below the abacus in Devanāgarī script.

IIM Ahmedabad

From ancient times India is known for its contribution to the education world. 'IIM Ahmedabad established in 1961'[10] has its own unique identity in the field of Education of Management.

विद्याविनियोगाद्विकास्रः
IIM
AHMEDABAD (Image 09)

The Identify of the IIM Ahmadabad has a visual-text combination. The element used in the logo is the *Sidī Saiyad Jāḷī*. Ahmadabad based on the banks of river Sabarmati, this city has been under different rulers since its creation and thus has a rich history. There are my famous places in Ahmedabad but *Sidī Saiyadnī Jāḷī* has its attraction at a global level, 'the mosque was built by Sidī Saiyad, an Abyssinian soldier in the service of the Gujarat Sultanate, in the year 1573. There are 10 lattice windows, the one with the 'Tree of Life' is the most popular and is

---

9. SitaramaSastri, S., n.d. *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad: Verse 3.1.6*. [online] Wisdomlib.org. Available at: <https://www.wisdomlib.org/hinduism/book/mundaka-upanishad-shankara-hashya/d/doc145127.html> [Accessed 2 April 2020].
10. Iima.ac.in. n.d. *IIMA History - IIMA*. [online] Available at: <https://www.iima.ac.in/web/about-

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

known as *'Sidī Saiyadnī Jāḷī.'*[11] The motto of the institute is written in Sanskrit i.e., विद्याविनियोगाद्विकासः *'Vidyaviniyogādvikāsaḥ'* — 'development through the distribution or application of knowledge.[12]

Life Insurance Corporation of India (LIC)

(Image 10)

'The Life Insurance Corporation of India was created on 1st September, 1956, with the objective of spreading life insurance much more widely and in particular to the rural areas with a view to reach all insurable persons in the country, providing them adequate financial cover at a reasonable cost.'[13] LIC logo is the combination of the symbols and text with the Blue & Yellow colour. 'The two hands gently circling the lamp' has been the iconic image of the LIC Logo. "The Sanskrit sentence written below the logo is "योगक्षेमं वहाम्यहम्" *(Yogakṣemam Vahāmyaham)* which is derived from *Bhagavadgītā* (22nd Verse of 9th Chapter) which means "I shall ensure the safety and well-being of my devotees" (actually told by lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa about his devotees) and that can be interpreted it as "we take care of health needs / we are responsible for your welfare.'[14]

---

11. The Girl Next Door. 2014. *The Lattice Window that Inspired the IIM-A Logo.* [online] Available at: <https://thegalnxtdoor.wordpress.com/2014/01/23/the-lattice-window-that-inspired-the-logo-of-iim-a/> [Accessed 9 May 2020].
12. Topistan.com. n.d. *Indian Institute of Management Ahmedabad - Topistan.Com.* [online] Available at: <https://www.topistan.com/item/indian-institute-of-management-ahmedabad/> [Accessed 16 August 2020].
13. Licindia.in. 2020. *Life Insurance Corporation of India - History.* [online] Available at: <https://licindia.in/Top-Links/about-us/History> [Accessed 7 July 2020].
14. Gr8ambitionz.com. 2013. *Meaning of LIC Logo.* [online] Available at: <https://www.gr8ambitionz.com/2013/05/meaning-of-lic-logo.html> [Accessed 8 July 2020].

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Indian Air Force

(Image 11)

'Indian Air force has exclusive visual identity with the motto. The Himalayan Eagle, with its wings raised towards the sky, is the symbol of a retired air warrior; his ferociousness is mellowed down but the capability of achieving great heights is still maintained.' [15]

नभःस्पृशं दीप्तम् ।
नभःस्पृशं दीप्तमनेकवर्णं व्यात्ताननं दीप्तविशालनेत्रम् ।
दृष्ट्वा हि त्वां प्रव्यथितान्तरात्मा धृतिं न विन्दामि शमं च विष्णो ॥ (*Śrīmad Bhagavadgītā*, XI.24)

'The Motto of Indian Air Force has been taken from the eleventh chapter of the *Gītā*, the discourse given by Lord Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna on the battlefield of Kurukṣetra during the Great War of *Mahābhārata*. The Lord is showing His Supreme Divine form to Arjuna and the great form of the Lord is reaching the sky with glory, evoking fear and loss of self-control in the mind of Arjuna. The Indian Air Force, similarly, aims to overwhelm the adversaries with the application of aerospace power in defense of the nation.'[16] The symbols of Garuḍa is believed to protect people from evil and danger. He drives away negative spirits, black magic, evil spells, and poisons.

Indian Navy

(Image 12)

---

15. https://www.afa-india.org. 2010. *History*. [online] Available at: <https://www.afa-india.org/history> [Accessed 8 July 2020].
16. Indianairforce.nic.in. 2020. *Iaf Motto| Indian Air Force | Government of India*. [online] Available at: <https://indianairforce.nic.in/content/iaf-motto> [Accessed 9 July 2020].

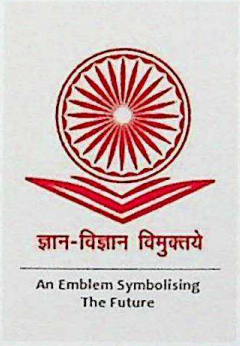
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

'Indian Navy's Motto is - *Śam no Varuṇaḥ* (शं नो वरुणः) that means that the God of water, Varuṇa, should be auspicious unto us.'[17] It is taken from *Taittirīya Upaniṣad:*

The anchor symbol presents the security, stability, and being grounded.

शं नो मित्रः शं वरुणः । शं नो भवत्वर्यमा । शं न इन्द्रो बृहस्पतिः । शं नो विष्णुरुरुक्रमः । नमो ब्रह्मणे । नमस्ते वायो । त्वमेव प्रत्यक्षं ब्रह्मासि । त्वामेव प्रत्यक्षं ब्रह्म वदिष्यामि । ऋतं वदिष्यामि । सत्यं वदिष्यामि । तन्मामवतु । तद्वक्तारमवतु । अवतु मां । अवतु वक्तारं । (सत्यं वदिष्यामि इति पञ्च च) ॥1.1.1॥ [18]

University Grants Commission (UGC)



(Image 13)

'ज्ञान-विज्ञान विमुक्तये *Jñāna-Vijñāna Vimuktaye* (Knowledge Liberates), conveys the UGC's philosophy and avowed objective of uplifting the nation's destiny through quality education. The *cakra* in the logo symbolizes the Indian nation. Its twenty-four spokes represent the continuous and uninterrupted flow of education, which is truly a life-long process. The lines below the *cakra* portray an open book, the ultimate symbol of learning.'[19]

---

17. Drishti IAS. 2019. *Navy Day - Drishti IAS*. [online] Available at: <https://www.drishtiias.com/daily-updates/daily-news-analysis/navy-day> [Accessed 16 August 2020].
18. Upanishads.iitk.ac.in. 2016. *1.1.1 | Upanishads*. [online] Available at: <https://www.upanishads.iitk.ac.in/node/3584> [Accessed 16 August 2020].
19. Ugc.ac.in. n.d. *An Emblem Symbolising the Future*. [online] Available at: <https://www.ugc.ac.in/oldpdf/LogoReport.pdf> [Accessed 16 August 2020].

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Conclusion

Through these examples elaborated above, I have observed that India, a country with rich cultural diversity has a reposeful historic and religious literature. The value of epic Vedas and Upaniṣads exists in various forms. Several examples of the Symbols, Identity Design, and Motto of various organizations, products, and Institutions in India are taken from the Vedas, Upaniṣads, Purāṇas that reflect upon the fact how our ancient culture and literature has left a great impact on Identity Design in India.

****

Images Source

(1) BBC, 2016. Chika Ltd. Bombay, Chemical Dyes, Made In India, Post-1940S, Offset. [image] Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-37194282> [Accessed 14April 2020].

(2) n.d. *Our Corporate Logo*. [image] Available at: <https://www.adityabirla.com/media/our-logo> [Accessed 16 August 2020].

(3) n.d. [image] Available at: <https://www.bankofbaroda.in/overview.htm> [Accessed 16 August 2020].

(4) lotus herbals, n.d. Lotus Herbals. [image] Available at: <https://www.lotusherbals.com/?gclid=EAIaIQobChMIyOTIveGf6wIVkjUrCh1VJgexEAAYASAAEgJ03fD_BwE#utm_source=google&utm_medium=search&utm_campaign=BK-AD> [Accessed 16 August 2020].

(5) The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, 2020. [image] Available at: <https://www.msubaroda.ac.in/> [Accessed 16 August 2020].

(6) brandyuva, n.d. *Fevicol Adhesive*. [image] Available at: <https://brandyuva.in/2018/04/history-behind-37-brand-logos-which-have-animal-character.html> [Accessed 16 August 2020].

(7) brandyuva, n.d. *Muthoot Finance*. [image] Available at: <https://brandyuva.in/2018/04/history-behind-37-brand-logos-which-have-animal-character.html> [Accessed 16 August 2020].

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

(8) india.gov.in, 2020. State Emblem. [image] Available at: <https://knowindia.gov.in/national-identity-elements/state-emblem.php> [Accessed 9 May 2020].

(9) Wikipedia®, 2020. Indian Institute of Management Ahmedabad. [image] Available at: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_Institute_of_Management_Ahmedabad> [Accessed 11 May 2020].

(10) Life Insurance Corporation of India, 2020. [image] Available at: <https://licindia.in/Intranet/Photo- Gallery-(1)?fileid=8> [Accessed 9 July 2020].

(11) Indian Air Force, Government of India, 2020. INDIAN AIR FORCE CREST. [image] Available at: <https://indianairforce.nic.in/content/indian-air-force-crest> [Accessed 9 July 2020].

(12) Indian Navy, n.d. [image] Available at: <https://www.indiannavy.nic.in/> [Accessed 16 June 2020].

(13) University Grants Commission New Delhi, India, 2020. Logo. [image] Available at: <https://www.ugc.ac.in/page/Logo.aspx> [Accessed 09 July 2020].

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

सौंदर्यलहरी

(शंकराचार्यविरचिता)

(Text in Sanskrit with Translations in English, Hindi, Marathi and Gujarati with Multi-Colour Pictures)

Edited by
R. I. NANAVATI

Translation
English : HARISH ZAVERI
Hindi : RADHAVALLABH TRIPATHI
Marathi : SAROJA BHATE
Gujarati : R. I. NANAVATI

General Editor
M. L. WADEKAR

First Edition 2013

Price : Rs 1000

Copies available at :

The University Publications Unit
A. I. C. S. Building
Opp. C. C. Mehta Auditorium
Pratapgunj, Vadodara - 390002
Ph. No. 0265 2781700

The University Facilitation Centre
Below University Head Office
Fatehgunj
Vadodara - 390002
Ph. No. 0265 2795555

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

REVIEWS

Vaideśikāṭanam (Mahākāvyam) by Haridatta Sharma, Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthanam, 56-57, Institutional Area, Janakpuri, New Delhi-110058, 2017, Price: Rs 290/-, pp. xvii+ 289.

Vaideśikāṭanam, a long poem, a *mahākāvya* of a new form is composed by Professor Haridatta Sharma who is highly reputed for his creativity and significant contribution to contemporary Sanskrit literature. This poem is in fact a travelogue. The poet narrates his experiences of the foreign countries that he has visited like Germany, both East and West, Holland, Paris, Austria, Thailand, and countries namely, Malaysia, Italy, Indonesia, Singapore, Mauritius, Scotland, London, United States, Japan and Cambodia. This poem contains twenty cantos and 1090 melodious verses composed in variety of popular meters. The experiences that are presented in this poem are a great source of knowledge and information for the Sanskrit readers who had no such opportunity to visit the institutions, places and people. Of course there are many travelogues written by the eminent poets of our time but the present work is unique because it creates a new form of *mahākāvya* altogether different from the traditional form. It is like a garland in which different but more or less same nature of flowers are appropriately put together. The poem is very interesting for its novel theme, lucid style, selection of good meters, simple language and descriptions. The Sanskritisation of Names and English words is very interesting and enjoyable. I appreciate the present poem as it is a true representative of contemporary literary culture and I congratulate the author for his bold innovation. A critical reader will definitely find many things regarding culture, tradition, academic activities, social customs and great Indologists who are devotedly working in various areas of Sanskrit studies and great universities engaged in promoting Sanskrit language and literature. The unity in variety is the soul of this poem. Though there are fine examples of many figures of speech like simile and poetic fancy still its structure reflects the modernistic trends. The

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO. 124, Vol. 69, 2020, pp. 209-210.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

selection of words is a significant feature of the poem. In the *Prāstāvikam* the poet has rightly explained and justified why it deserves to be called a *mahākāvya* though it does not follow the traditional definitions promulgated by the great poeticians both ancient and contemporary. There is no hero, no theme as expected and no principal and subordinate sentiment like erotic or heroic or pathos which constitutes the main features of a *mahākāvya*. But to my mind, the poet is very right in calling it a *mahākāvya* and boldly taking a new initiative in the field of Sanskrit literature as there is of course a theme. Without a theme or content nothing can be written and versification is not simply possible. Any human expression or communication contains a content and that becomes charming and beautiful if it is expressed in a proper style and with beautiful words. According to Panditaraja Jagannatha, *ramaṇiyārtha -pratipādakaḥ -śabdaḥ kāvyam* and *vākyocayaḥ* is *mahāvākyam.* And we may also suppose the narrator, the poet himself is the hero as he narrates his heroic activities as a part of his great achievements. There is definitely sentiments as the poem is supplying immense pleasure. I have thoroughly gone through this work in two sittings as the poem arrested the fickle mind completely. Furthermore, there is unity and harmony in the thematic structure. No sincere reader will notice any kind of *sāhsrikas* of ten *śatakas* or *muktaka* poems. An example from the present poem will suffice to substantiate the points I have told about in the above pages.

पूर्वं पूर्वसुजर्मनीमधिवसन्नापं सुखं सौहृदं
पश्चात् पश्चिमजर्मनीमपि गतो नव्यानुभूत्या समम् ।
यात्रा सांस्कृतिकी हि संस्कृतहितायायोजिता योजकैः
शर्मण्ये हरिशर्मणे सुविहिता जाता ध्रुवं शर्मणे ॥ (पृ.४८)

From this point of view, *Vaideśikāṭanam* is a *mahākāvya* and it is full of poetic merits. So the learned poet, who has mesmerised our minds by his seminal work *Lasallatikā* which received Sahitya Akademi Award deserves high appreciation for his prolific writings.

Vadodara

Rabindra Kumar Panda

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE'S ACTIVITIES (2019 - 2020)

The year 2019-2020 was marred in the last quarter of the year by the pandemic of COVID-19 or Corona Virus. The Institute was closed for more than 50 days for active functioning. Though 'work from home' was followed during Lock-down and from18th May it started partially working when lock-down was partially relaxed. Now it is functioning full time from June 1, 2020. Till February 21st 2020, the Institute was busy with research and publications, arranging talks, attending scholars' requests the usual activities of the Institute. The Seminar/Workshops couldn't be held due to lock-down (those were scheduled in Feb-March). Some of the activities are mentioned below -

Manuscript Preservation & Conservation Project

National Mission for Manuscripts, New Delhi has deputed the Oriental Institute as a Resource Centre in the region for the Conservation & Restoration of Manuscripts and has started a Project for doing so on 1.3.2019. Till now, 30000 pages have been treated from dust and damages under the Project.

Manuscript Section

Oriental Institute is a Manuscript library mainly, so scholars from all-over the world approach us for the copies of their desired manuscripts. From last few years, we are providing digitized-copies On-line to scholars (on chargeable basis). This year we have provided 90 copies of manuscripts to 30 scholars. This year 33 original manuscripts are received as donation from Mumbai and Vadodara.

Critical Edition Wing

The Critical Edition wing was specifically established for Critical Edition of (Vālmīki) *Rāmāyaṇa* Project. After the completion of *Rāmāyaṇa* Project, it continued to prepare critical Editions of 'Purans' and finished '*Viśṇupurāṇa*'. *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*'. At present it is preparing critical edition of '*Vāyupurāṇa*'.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, UGC CARE LIST NO. 124, Vol. 69, 2020, pp. 211-216.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

'*Gayāmāhātmya*' Collation (in *Vāyupurāṇa*) has been done where four Manuscripts for 1 to 8 *Adhyāyas* Collated. Concordance of *Vāyupurāṇa Adhyāya* 1 to 45 is prepared. Final rechecking of press copy of 1 to 10 *Adhyāyas* done. Checking of Critical Text, typing of Critical Text upto 62 *Adhyāyas* done.

Printed Section

The Library of Oriental Institute is known for original editions of many books. The collection of Oriental literature books in many languages, Indological Journals invites scholars to our library. We receive 104 journals in exchange of our in-house Journals - JOI and Svadhyaya. This year we have received 285 Journals. We included 219 books to our book-collection. Several times scholars do request for the digitized copy of certain book, for the copies of the GOS books/or our Gujarati publications or old articles from Journal of Oriental Institute. So we do provide digitized copies of our publications, if the hard copy of the book is not available in the 'Sales Unit' of the university. This year we have provided 5 digitized copies of GOS publications, 3 books from Sayaji Sahitya Mala, 3 articles from JOI on request from scholars.

Publications

This year 68th Volume of **Journal of Oriental Institute** and 55th issue of **Swadhyaya** are published and circulated by the Oriental Institute. The printing (Reprint editions) of **'Charak no Svadhyay', 'Vadodara Rajyano Itihasa', 'Sangita Makaranda', 'Saktisangamatantra'** (Part 3 & 4) is going on.

Symposium & Lectures

The Institute had arranged some very special symposiums and lectures this year.

1. On 29.4.2019, Prof. Bhagvatsharan Shukla, Dept. of Grammar, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, delivered a lecture on "Ancient and Modern Methods of Teaching Sanskrit" under Extra Mural Lectures.
2. On 14.11.2019, we had a 'Parisamvad' **(symposium)** to honour American Gujarati Diaspora poet Shri Chandrakant Desai. The program was organised

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

by Gujarat Sahitya Academy and Oriental Institute which was presided by Prof. Balvant Jani, Chancellor, Central University of Sagar (MP).

3. On 30.12.2019, Prof. Mithila Prasad Tripathi, Former Vice-Chancellor of Maharshi Panini Sanskrit evam Vedic Vishwavidyalaya, Ujjain (MP), delivered 2 lectures on Kalidasa's *Meghadūta* under **'Extra Mural Lectures'.**

4. On 1.1.2020, an award **'Bharata-gaurava Pandita K. S. Ramaswami Sastri Puraskara'** was started by the family-members of Pandit Ramaswami Sastri. The first award was given to two well-known scholars – Prof. Bisnupada Mahapatra from Shri Lalbahadur Shastri Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapith, Delhi; Dr. Janakisharan Acharya from Shri Somanath Sanskrit University, Veraval. Prof. R.G. Kothari, Former Vice-Chancellor of South Gujarat University was the Chief-guest & Prof. Mithila Prasad Tripathi, Former Vice-Chancellor of Maharshi Panini Sanskrit evam Vedic Vishwavidyalaya, Ujjain (MP) was the president of the function. This symposium cum award program was attended by 7 members of Pandit Ramaswami's family who came from Dubai, Mumbai and Bengaluru and fifty participants.

5. On 2.1.2020, Prof. Bishnupada Mahapatra, Shri Lalbahadur Shastri Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapith, Delhi, delivered a lecture on 'History of *Nyāya* Philosophy' under **Extra Mural Lectures**.

6. On 10.1.2020, National Mission for Manuscripts (NMM), Delhi and Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts (IGNCA), Vadodara region with Oriental Institute, Dept. of Clothing & Textile, Faculty of Family and Community Sciences, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, hosted a talk on 'Manuscript Treasure of India- Repository of our Heritage' by Dr. Sacchidanand Joshi, Member Secretary, IGNCA Delhi, under the **'Tattvabodha Lecture Series'** of NMM.

7. On 15.2.2020, Dr. Balaram Shukla, Dept. of Sanskrit, University of Delhi, delivered one lecture on 'Linguistic Features of Prakrit : Causing its Poetic Excellence' under **Extra Mural Lectures**.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Visitors at Institute

Oriental Institute not only has scholars searching manuscripts or books as Visitors every year, but students from Schools, Colleges, Universities, employees from Government departments, common people from all walks of life, sometimes local, sometimes from other cities and abroad countries also visit to explore their avenues of our rich heritage.

This year 33 visiting entries registered in the Institute apart from 104 students from Gujarat Refinery School, Vadodara; 15 people from Bombay University; 6 students of class XII science from Navjeevan High school, Baghikhana, Vadodara; 19 students from Library Science Department, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara; 25 students Sanskrit Bhavan, Saurashtra University, Rajkot; 7 members from Nature Walk Group, Vadodara; 4 members of 'Akhila Bharatiya Kadva Patidar Samaj', Kaccha (Guj.); 2 Jain Monks. People who belonged to different fields of work, also came in small groups. Some notable Visitors are as following.

Distinguished Visitors at Institute

S.N.	Date of visit	Name, Address of the visiting person/s	Designation	Purpose of the visit
1.	11.4.2019	Prof. Bhagvati Prasad, Vice-Chancellor, Gautam Buddha University, Greater Noida (UP)	Vice-Chancellor, Gautam Buddha University	To see the Institute
2.	12.4.2019	Mr. Naveen Raj Sing	IAS (All members of the team of observers of Loksabha Election)	To see the Institute

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

3.		Ms. Sharmishtha Moitra	IDES	To see the Institute
4.		Ms. Shweta Pachauri	IRS	To see the Institute
5.		Mr. Phani Kumar	IRS	To see the Institute
6.	29.4.2019	Prof. Bhagvatsharan Shukla, Vyakarana Vibhag, Sanskrit Vidya, Dharma-Vijnana Sankaya, Kashi Hindu Vishwavidyalaya, Varanasi	Head of the Dept.	To deliver lecture and to see the Institute
7.	18.7.2019	Dr. Saumya Manjunath, 6/8 Layard's Road, Colombo-7 (Sri Lanka)	On deputation at ICCR	To see the manuscript of Saundaryalahari
8.	25.7.2019	Dr. Dimple Kaur, Greater Kailash -1 New Delhi	Dance Therapist	To see the Institute (came to vadodara to participate in workshop of IGNCA)
9.	5.9.2019	Ms. Parul Mashar, Bank of Baroda, Alkapuri Branch, Vadodara	Assistant Manager	To see the Institute (with three persons)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

10.	16.9.2019	Shri Dinesh Kamath 25, Deendayal Upadhyaya Marg, New Delhi	All India Org. Secretary, Sanskrit Bharati	To see the Institute
11.	15.10.2019	Dr. D. K. Singhdeo, Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, Bhopal Campus, Bhopal	Asst. Professor	To see the Institute
12.	13.11.2019	Mrs. Revati Dabholar, R. V. Desai Road, Vadodara	House wife, Nature Enthusiast	To see the Institute
13.	16.11.2019	Chandrakant K. Patel, Mumbai	Secretary, Akhila Bharatiya Kadva Patidar Samaj, Kaccha	To donate manuscripts & books , to see the Institute
14.	10.2.2020	Shri Suresh Soniji	RSS Office bearer	To see the Institute
15.	25.2.2020	Ms. Kavita Kane, English Author, Pune	Author (English language)	To see the Institute (came with 3 persons)
16.	2.3.2020	Mr. Jignesh M. Patel, District Education Office, Godhra (Gujarat)	-	To see the Institute
17.	9.3.2020	Dr. Dillip Kumar Kar, Shri Kallaji Vedic Vishwavidyalaya, Nimbahera (Raj.)	Asst. Director (Research)	To see the Institute

---

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

Statement about the ownership and other particulars about newspapers

JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

(To be published every year after the last day of February)

FORM IV

(See Rule 8)

1.	*Place of the Publication :*	**Oriental Institute** The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda Vadodara-390 001
2.	*Periodicity of its Publication :*	**Annual**
3.	*Printer's Name :* *Nationality :* *Address :*	**Jatin H. Somani** Indian Manager, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda Press (Sadhana Press) Vadodara - 390 001
4.	*Publisher's Name :* *Nationality :* *Address :*	**Dr. Sweta Prajapati** Indian C-62, Akshardham Society Aksharchawk,Vadodara - 390 020
5.	*Editor's Name :* *Nationality :* *Address :*	**Dr. Sweta Prajapati** Indian C-62, Akshardham Society Aksharchawk,Vadodara - 390 020
6.	*Names & Addresses of Individuals who own the newspaper and partners or shareholders holding more than one percent of the total capital*	**The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda** Maharaja Fatehsinghrao Gaekwad Road Vadodara - 390 002

I, Sweta Prajapati, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Dr. Sweta Prajapati
Signature of Publisher

JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

THE MAHARAJA SAYAJIRAO UNIVERSITY OF BARODA, VADODARA

The International Journal of the Oriental Institute, ISSN 0030-5324, Included in UGC Care List, is published every year by the Oriental Institute, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Near Palace Gate, Palace Road, Vadodara-390 001, Gujarat, India.

SPECIAL FEATURES :

Articles on Indology, Vedic studies, textual and cultural problems of the Ramayana, Epics & Puranas, notices of Manuscripts, reviews of books, survey of the rare works forming The Maharaja Sayajirao University Oriental Series, are some of the special features of this Journal.

Contributors to Note :

1. The Titles of Sanskrit/Non-Sanskrit works in transliteration should be in Italics with proper diacritical marks e.g. *Ṛgveda Śvetāśvara* etc.
2. The names of certain General classes of works in transliteration should not be in Italics e.g. Vedas, Upanisads, Puranas, (but with diacritical marks).
3. Abbreviations of the titles of Sanskrit works should not be in Italics, e.g. RV (for *Ṛgveda*), SV (*Sāmaveda*) etc.
4. Proper names of person and place in transliteration, should not be in Italics but with diacritical marks e.g. Rāma, Prayāga etc.
5. Epithets (adjectives) in transliteration should be in Italics e.g. *Paulasatya, Kārtavirya.*
6. In the Article Sanskrit quotations (*Slokas* in part or complete) should be in *Devanāgarī* (In foot-notes also), Non-English stray words/ Sanskrit/ Prakrit words must be written in transliteration, in Italics and with proper diacritical marks.
7. Whenever an Abbreviation is used in an article, its full form should be stated in first occurrence and then that abridged form may be used for that full form in all over the article.
8. Reference should appear in footnotes at the bottom of each page. Foot-Notes below each page in running numbers should be with complete details in the following order:

   i) Surname first then initial/s of the author (author's name should not be with diacritical marks), ii) Title of the book (in Italics), iii) Publisher, iv) Place, v) Year of Publication, vi) Page No./s.
9. For 'Book Reviewers', the order of Book's description (to begin with) should be i) Name of the book (in Italics) with Vol. No. (if any), ii) Name of the Author /Editor, iii) Publisher, iv) Place, v) Year of Publication (with Edition), vi) Pages and Price, vii) ISBN (if there is any). The name of the reviewer should appear to the right side of the end and his/her address to the left side of the end.
10. Size of Fonts: Times New Roman in size 16 (bold & Cap) for Title, for body No. 14, for Foot-notes No. 10 with standard margin.
11. As per the Pre-publication Blind Reviewed policy, the reasons for rejection of an article are not disclosed to the contributor. The article may be sent to contributors 'to revise' according to suggestions of the editorial board before final decision of publication.
12. The Copyright of all articles published in the Journal will rest with the Oriental Institute.
13. A Contributor will be provided with a Complimentary copy of the Journal along with 10 Off-prints of the article.
14. The type written original manuscript should be submitted in A4 size paper (typed on 1 side) to the Director along with the soft copy sent online in MS Word format with PDF along with Sanskrit and English fonts used in the article to - director-oriental@msubaroda.ac.in. Articles may be sent by post to :

The Director, Oriental Institute
The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda
Near Palace Gate, Palace Road, Vadodara - 390 001 (Gujarat)
Phone: 0265-2425121

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

CHRISTIAN FERSTL
Department of South Asian, Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, University of Vienna, Spitalgasses 2, Courtyard 2, Entrance 2.7, 1090 Vienna, Austria, Ph: +43-1-4277-43501;
Email: Christian.ferstl@univie.ac.at

DHANANJAY VASUDEO DWIVEDI
Department of Sanskrit, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee University, Ranchi,
M: 7992362827, 9431590113, Email: dvd1309@gmail.com, dvd74@rediffmail.com

K. G. SHESHADRI
R.M.V Clusters, Phase-2, Block-2, 5th Floor, Flat No. 503, Devinagar, Lottegollahalli, Bangalore – 560094. Ph. No.: - +91-80-23415639 (Res), Email: kg_sheshadri@yahoo.com / kg.shesh@gmail.com

NEERAJ KUMAR MISHRA
K-57/150-51, Nawapura, Varanasi, U.P. 221001, M. 9807377269; Email: neerajm312@gmail.com

KALINDI SHUKLA
2, Vishwabharti Society, Near Navarangpura Telephone Exchange, Ahmedabad – 380006;
M: 9924512300; Email: kalindis1@gmail.com

KAPIL GAUTAM
Department of Sanskrit, School of Humanities and Social Sciences,
Vardhman Mahaveer Open University, Kota. M: 9672199658, Email: kapilg2008jnu@gmail.com

MAYANK SHEKHAR
School of Historical Studies, Nalanda University, Rajgir, Bihar, M: 09711055441,
Email: mayank.shekhar@nalandauniv.edu.in

HARSHADA SAWARKAR
Chanakya International Institute of Leadership Studies, Ramkrishna Bajaj Sanskrit Bhavan, University of Mumbai, Santacruz, Mumbai – 400098, M: 09869113489,
Email: harshadasawarkar@gmail.com

BHASWATI MUKHOPADHYAY
Department of History, Sitananda College, Purba Medinipur, West Bengal, M: 9830386872,
Email: bhaswati1604@gmail.com

SATYAVRAT VARMA
7/34, Purani Abadi; Near Namdev Flour Mills; Sri Ganganagar-335001

NIMESH SHAH
Dept. of Applied Arts, Faculty of Fine Arts, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara,
M: 9824333265, Email: e9824333265@gmail.com

RABINDRA KUMAR PANDA
Dept. of Sanskrit, Pali & Prakrit, Faculty of Arts, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara, M: 9974262038, Email: panda_rabindra@rediffmail.com

Regd. No. 15007/57

Published by **Dr. Sweta Prajapati,** *I/c. Director,* Oriental Institute, on behalf of The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara - 390 001 (India)

Printed by **Jatin H. Somani,** *Manager,* The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda Press (Sadhana Press), Near Palace Gate, Palace Road, Vadodara - 390 001

Issued - November 2020

MSUP-4807-150+10-11-20